

Class PA 6515

Book A3C5

1810







Cornelius Nepos

CORNELII NEPOTIS

VITÆ

EXCELLENTIUM IMPERATORUM: ✓

CUM

Versione Anglicanâ, in qua Verbum de Verbo,
quantum fieri potuit, redditur:

Notis quoque Anglicis, & Indice locupletissimo.

OR,

371
229
CORNELIUS NEPOS'S

48528.
LIVES

OF THE

EXCELLENT COMMANDERS.

WITH

An English translation, as literal as possible: with
English notes, and a large Index.

BY JOHN CLARKE,

Late Master of the Public Grammar-school in Hull.

PHILADELPHIA:

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PREFACE.

WHOEVER duly considers the vulgar management of youth in our grammar-schools, will, perhaps, see cause to wonder, that amidst the noble endeavours for the advancement of learning, a right method of education has been, in a manner, wholly overlooked. Whilst the great men in the Commonwealth of Letters have been busily and successfully employed in improving and carrying on the several arts and sciences, they have neglected, what was equally necessary, the care of youth: Had this been as duly attended to as the importance of the matter required, their labours would have been of vastly more use to mankind. Grammars and notes upon authors we have in abundance, indeed, and more by far than are good for any thing; yet these, where they are useful, are only so to such as have made a considerable progress in the Latin tongue. But beginners are left wholly without any proper helps; nay, so far from being provided with them, that the world has hitherto been insensible of the necessity of them. Our great men have thought things of this kind below their notice: There was more fame and credit to be got by writing for men than children, and therefore the latter have been strangely neglected.

As the course of life I have been engaged in has obliged me to turn my thoughts this way, I have sometime ago published my notions as to this matter in a little treatise, entitled, *an Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar-schools*, wherein the usefulness and necessity of literal translations of the easier authors of the Latin tongue, for the use of beginners, is pretty fully treated of. A small share of sense and consideration

might in my opinion, be sufficient to convince any one of that usefulness and necessity ; but if the reader wants satisfaction, I must refer him to that treatise, for I care not to give myself the trouble of repeating over again what I have there said. The case is so very plain, and the practice of our schools so very absurd, that whatever men may think now, I am of opinion, posterity, when the world is grown wiser with respect to the business of education (if we may suppose any memory of the present method may be conveyed to future generations) will be a little surprized at the weakness of their forefathers. And if foreigners have in this case no better management amongst them than we have, the want of care and thought in a matter of such vast importance, as the education of youth undoubtedly is, is a reproach to the age we live in, and will, ere long, be thought so, whatever some inconsiderate people may now judge of the matter.

The following translation of *Cornelius Nepos* is almost every where literal, and therefore the reader is not to expect the language of it should be very smooth or polite. All, that know any thing of the Latin tongue, know how widely the diction or manner of expression in that language, differs from that of our own ; and how hard it is, in a translation from the Latin, to keep any thing close to the letter of the original, without being barbarous or unintelligible. My English is, I hope, neither unintelligible, nor absolutely barbarous ; but if it appears, here and there, somewhat awkward, stiff, or unfashionable, it was impossible it should be otherwise, without taking a freedom utterly inconsistent with the design.

This performance is, in the first place, and principally, intended for such boys as are not able to read the author at all without help ; and for such, if I have been so happy as to acquit myself, but tolerably well in it, I am sure it will be very helpful, and save abundance of time that must otherwise be thrown away, in tossing over the leaves of a dictionary, to little or no pur-

pose. The notes are in English, because otherwise they would have been wholly useless to those for whose benefit they were chiefly intended. I have oftentimes wondered at the fancy of loading the easier Classics with a vast number of Latin notes, where those, that could read the author at all, would but seldom want help, and those, that could not, would be able to read the notes no more than the text. Though this be as plain as any thing can be, yet the jest of writing Latin notes for beginners has been carried so far, that a learned *Irishman* has muffled up poor *Erasmus* in his *Colloquies* with a large cumbersome dress of this kind. The same gentleman will, perhaps, do as much in time for *Æsop* and *Cordery*; nay, he seems to lie under some obligation to it, if he will go thorough stitch with his work, and render his method of education complete.

2. This book is designed likewise for the use of such, as, having got a pretty good insight into the Latin tongue at school, but through disuse have forgot it, are desirous to recover it again; which may be done with a great deal of ease, by the help of this, and some other Classic authors, to be published in the same manner. One hour or two employed this way every day for a year together, will bring such to read prose with ease and pleasure, after which the poets will not be difficult for them to understand by the help of such notes as they are published with. So that I am not wholly without hopes, I have done a piece of acceptable service to such gentlemen, as are desirous to regain the skill they had acquired in the Latin tongue at school, but have since lost it. Few grown people will ever have the patience to hammer out such a language as the Latin, by the help of a dictionary. That would require more time than any one in ten thousand either can or will spare: But in this way of proceeding, the regaining the Latin tongue will be but a new kind of diversion the world has been hitherto unacquainted with. The time, they need to employ that way, is less than those, who are

the most taken up with business, usually spend upon their pleasures. If such therefore shall think fit to encourage this way of publishing the Classics, I shall, if God give me life and health, take care to supply them with such as are most proper for their purpose, with all convenient speed.

3. The book is not only designed for the lower forms in a school, to bring them readily and easily to the reading of the Latin prose authors, but likewise for the higher forms, and such as can read them pretty well, without any such help, as well to bring them to a more complete and perfect acquaintance with them in the most expeditious manner, as likewise to an imitation of their style, by rendering the translation into the original Latin of the author. And indeed, I do not think there is any other way to bring boys at school to any thing of a tolerable Latin style, but this. Constant conversation, with a little help from grammar, is, in my judgment, the best and most easy method of attaining to a ready and proper use of any foreign language. For very little can be done in the way of conversation at school. For to confine the boys to the talking of Latin amongst themselves, before they know any thing almost of the language, is ridiculous, and the most effectual means, that could possibly be thought of, to prevent their ever speaking or writing it, with any tolerable exactness and propriety. The speaking of a language any one has learned to speak pretty well, is the way to be sure to retain it, as likewise to use it with greater fluency and freedom; but that is not what we are here enquiring after, but a method of attaining a tolerable propriety in the writing and speaking of Latin. This I never yet knew done, so much as in one single instance, in any school, that has come within the reach of my knowledge, or indeed any thing like it. Nay, I have talked with very ingenious men, and good judges, because persons of considerable experience in that way, who looked upon the bringing up of boys at school to a true Latin style, wholly impracticable. Though I will

not say so, yet it is certainly a matter of very great difficulty, and I question very much, whether any method that can be taken with them, will be found generally successful, or in any reasonable time, besides this I here recommend. All the grammar, indeed, necessary, for the purpose, may easily be taught them; but when that is done, the main of the difficulty is still behind, as every one is sensible, that knows any thing of the Latin tongue. A ready use of proper terms, or of proper phrases or forms of expression upon all occasions, seems hardly attainable in any reasonable time, or the longest term of the continuance of boys at grammar schools, but in the method I propose. Literal translations they are to begin with, and after they have gone through four or five authors, in the method of rendering translations into the very original Latin of authors, they are to be advanced to translations of greater freedom, wherein the propriety, elegance, and beauty of the English tongue, is kept to with the strictest regard. This method of proceeding is next to conversation, and has, in one respect, the advantage of it; because they will be thus supplied with better Latin for their English, as oft as they want it, than any, even the greatest masters of the Latin tongue, could pretend to furnish them with in the way of conversation. And though I may, I believe, without vanity, pretend to understand the Latin tongue, as well as a great many of my profession, yet I am not ashamed to own, that I expect to receive a great deal of benefit myself, from this way of using the books I propose to publish according to the present model. It is certainly the most ready, expeditious method that can be taken at school, to furnish the mind with a plenty of words, and a variety of phrases and expressions for the same sense. And that without any danger of error, which the use of dictionaries and phrase books would be attended with: For none indeed can receive any great benefit from them, for the writing of Latin, but such as are good judges in the language, and are well acquainted with the idiom thereof already.

4. The Classics published in this method will likewise be of great use to such foreigners, as understand Latin and have a mind to learn the English tongue.

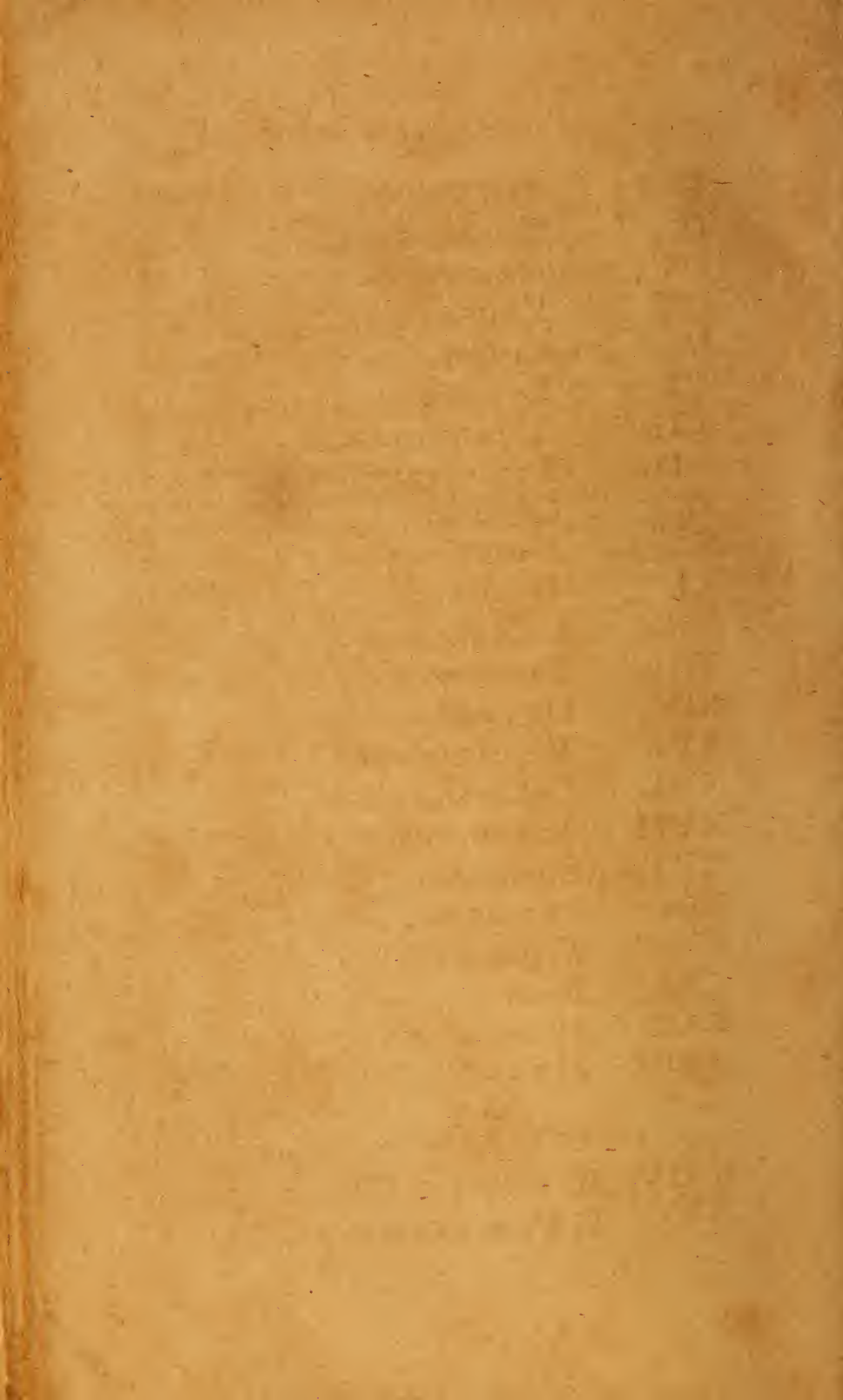
I would not have the reader mistake my recommending the use of literal translations of the Classic authors for the several purposes above mentioned as a commendation of my present performance. It was never so intended by me in the least. It may be very true, that the Classics, literally translated by a skilful hand, may be highly useful upon all those accounts; and yet as true that I am not equal to such an undertaking. Whether I am or not must be left to the judgment of the learned, by whose verdict I am content the matter should be determined. But I am somewhat suspicious the unlearned will be the most forward to censure. And perhaps a pert undergraduate will be able to find more faults in a single line, than his tutor in them all put together. But I am very little concerned about the censure of such sort of worthies. The esteem of men of true learning, virtue, and candour, I shall ever value above every thing, but those noble qualifications themselves; for the sneers and reflections of such as may be destitute of them, I despise them just as much as I value the former.

I must desire my reader to take notice, that such words as I have found necessary or convenient to insert in the translation, either to render the sense more clear, or the English more smooth, and have none to answer them in the original, are in a different character.

If any one, otherwise satisfied with my performance, but prejudiced against this way of proceeding with boys (for there are unaccountable people in the world) will but please to make trial of it for one half year, in which time, at the worst it can do no great harm; if such a one does not find his account in it very much to his own satisfaction, he has my consent to think and speak of me as hardly as he pleases, and the nature of the thing will justify: Let me pass with him for a fool, who have given myself a great deal of pains to no purpose; I nei-

ther expect nor desire any quarter. But if a boy should be found to go effectually and successfully through the whole book, in this method, in less time, than without the help here provided for him, he could possibly read a fourth part of it, (to speak within compass) I hope I may then be thought to deserve thanks for what I have already done, and encouragement for what I further design in the same method.

I have prefixed to the lives, *Gerard Vossius's* account of our author. As I do not design it for the reading of boys at school by the way of lesson, but to gratify the curiosity of such as may be desirous to know something of the life and character of the author they read, many of whom may not be able to understand the Latin of *Vossius*, I have translated it with more freedom than I was at liberty to take with *Cornelius Nepos*. I shall in time, if I meet with encouragement, publish a Classic author or two, with translations of the like kind with this of *Nepos's* life.

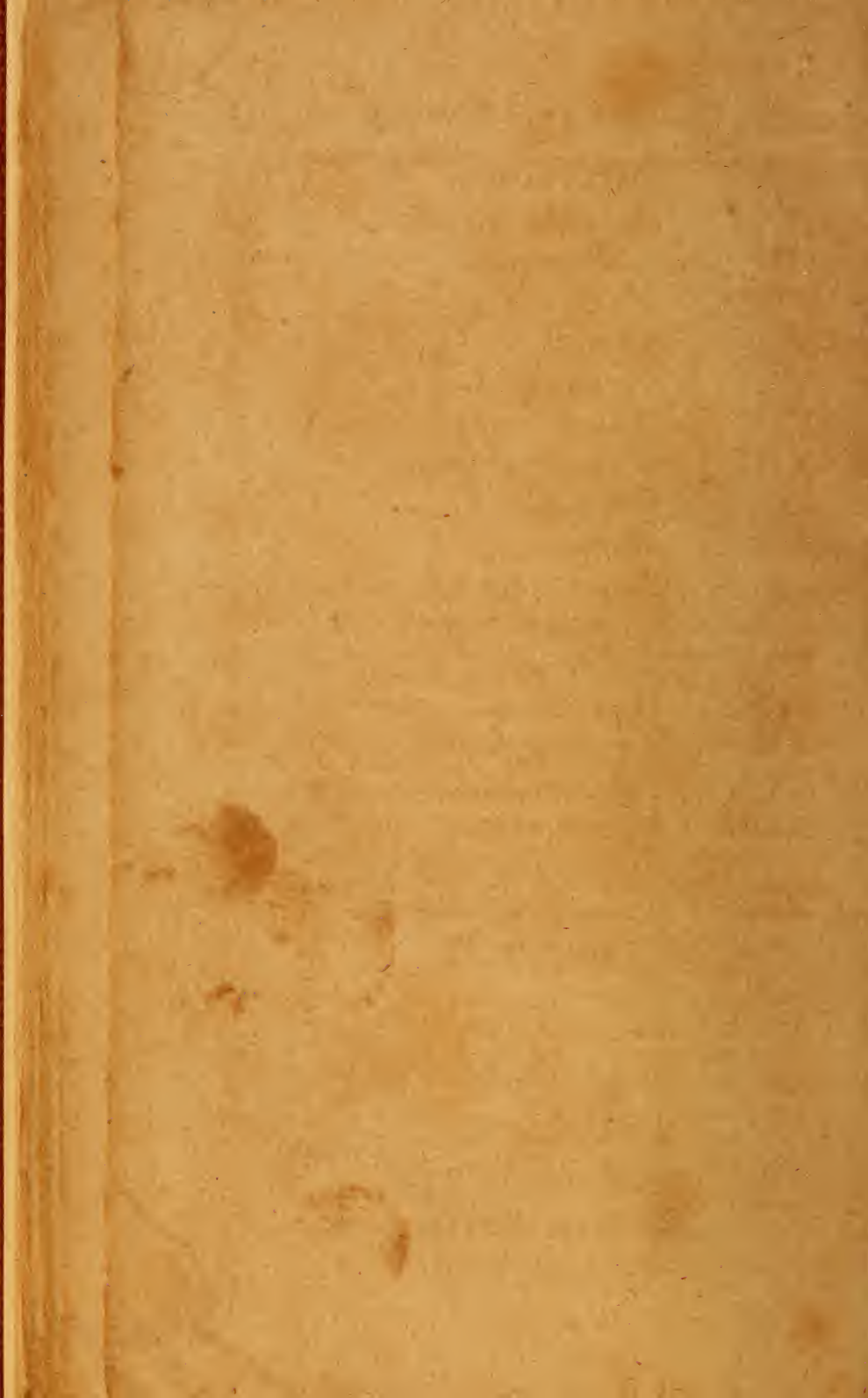


SERIES EXCELLENTIUM VIRORUM.

- | | |
|--------|---------------|
| I. | MILTIADES. |
| II. | THEMISTOCLES. |
| III. | ARISTIDES. |
| IV. | PAUSANIAS. |
| V. | CIMON. |
| VI. | LYSANDER. |
| VII. | ALCIBIADES. |
| VIII. | THRASYBULUS. |
| IX. | CONON. |
| X. | DION. |
| XI. | IPHICRATES. |
| XII. | CHABRIAS. |
| XIII. | TIMOTHEUS. |
| XIV. | DATAMES. |
| XV. | EPAMINONDAS. |
| XVI. | PELOPIDAS. |
| XVII. | AGESILAUS. |
| XVIII. | EUMENES. |
| XIX. | PHOCION. |
| XX. | TIMOLEON. |
| XXI. | REGES. |
| XXII. | HAMILCAR. |
| XXIII. | HANNIBAL. |

ROMANORUM.

- | | |
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| XXIV. | M. PORTIUS CATO. |
| XXV. | T. POM. ATTICUS. |



*Ger. Joannes Vossius,
de Cornelio Nepote.*

*Gerard Vossius's Life of Cor-
nelius Nepos.*

CORNELIUS Nepos
& ante Cæsaris dictatu-
ram, & eo dictatore, &
postea, vixit. Hierony-
mus in Chronico Euse-
biano refert illum ad an-
num Augusti quartum.
Nec cuiquam repugnem
colligenti inde, tum de-
mum divulgare ea cœ-
pisse opera, quibus max-
imè inclaruit. Padi erat
accola, teste Plinio, lib. iii
cap. xviii. Unde Catullo
epigrammate primo, Ita-
lus; Ausonio autem, e-
pist. xxiv. Gallus vo-
catur: nempe quia Ita-
lia Transpadana dicere-
tur Gallia Togata. De
urbe aut patriâ quicquam
se habere comperti, ne-
gat Elias Vinetus, in Au-
son. Idyll. vii. At Vero-

CORNELIUS Nepos lived
before and under the dictator-
ship of Cesar, and after it too.
Jerom in Eusebius's Chroni-
cle places him under the
fourth year of Augustus's
reign. Nor shall I much dis-
pute with any one, that may
from thence pretend to infer,
that he began at that time to
publish the works, he was af-
terwards so very famous for.
He lived nigh the Po, as ap-
pears from Pliny, B. 3 ch.
18. For which reason he is
called by Catullus, in his first
epigram, an Italian; and by
Ausonius in his 24th epistle,
a Gaul, because that part of
Italy beyond the Po was call-
ed Gallia Togata. Elias Vi-
netus, upon the 7th Idyllium
of Ausonius, tells us, he was
never able to make any dis-
B

nensem fuisse, in Leandri Alberti Italia lego: uti & in Cosmographia optimi atque amicissimi quondam viri, Pauli Merulæ. Imò ex Veronensium historicorum syllabo (quem doctissimus amplissimusque Alexander Becellus, Veronensis Urbis Cancellarius, fecit, ac illustrissimus Comes, Fernandus Nogarola, vir, ut genere, ita literarum studio, nobilissimus, cum v. cl. Laurentio Pignorio, atque is mecum communicavit) intelligo, natum fuisse Nepotem in Hostilia; qui Veronensium vicus est, Tacito, Plinio, Cassiodoro, & Antonino in Itinerario memoratus, hodieque Ecclesiasticæ Veronensium jurisdictioni subditus. Historicus hic Ciceronis amicus familiaris à Gellio vocatur, lib. xv. cap. xxviii. Chronica scripsisse, testis & idem Gellius, lib. xxvi. cap. xxi. In his pro triplici tempore, ἀδηλω, μὲν δικῶ καὶ ιστορικῶς, (de quibus ex Varrone, & aliis, libro de arte historica diximus) tres videtur scripsisse

covery of the place of his nativity. But I find in Leander Albertus's account of Italy, that he was a native of Verona, as likewise in the cosmography of that very worthy gentleman, and formerly my very good friend, Paul Merula. Nay, I further perceive, from a collection of the historians of Verona, (which that very learned and honourable person Alexander Becellus of Verona, made, and the most illustrious count Fernand Nogarola, a gentleman as considerable for his learning as quality, communicated to the famous Laurentius Pignorius, from whom I had the favour of a sight of it; I perceive, (I say) that Nepos was born in Hostilia, which is a village in the territory of Verona, mentioned by Tacitus, Pliny, Cassiodorus, and Antonius in his Itinerary, and is at this day subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Verona. Our historian is called by Gellius, B. 15, ch. 28. an intimate friend of Cicero, and that he wrote a Chronicle, we have the testimony of the same Gellius, B. 26. chap. 21. And agreeably to that triple division of time into uncertain, fabulous, and historical, (of which I have

libros, ac singulis, unius temporis narrationem esse complexus. Sanè tres libros fecisse Nepotem, quibus omne ævum comprehenderit, liquidò testatur Catullus initio Hendecasyllaborum. Nec historicum tempus ab eo solùm esse tractatum, judicio est illud Ausonii: *Apologos Titiani, & Nepotis Chronica, quasi alios apologos (nam & ipsa instar fabularum sunt) ad nobilitatem tuam misi.* Item ex eo, quod Tertullianus in Apologetico adversus gentes (ubi eum inter antiquitatum commentatores disertim reponit) dicit, haud aliud Saturnum, quam hominem, promulgasse. Quod etiam Lactantius tradit, lib. i. cap. xiii. Reliquit præterea libros illustrium virorum, quorum Gellius meminit, lib. xi. cap. viii. & Servius in 1. Æn. Eorum librum i. xv. & xvi. citat Charisius. Ex his habemus viginti duos exterarum gentium imperatores. Cæteris libris egisse de Romanis hæcejus verba ostendunt in extrema Hannibalis

given an account out of Varro and others, in my treatise of the art of writing history) he seems to have divided it into three books, and, in each of these, to have comprised a narrative of each respective time. For, that Nepos wrote three books, in which he comprehended the whole series of time, Catullus, in the beginning of his Hendecasyllaba, declares in express terms; and that the historical time was not the sole subject of his Chronicle appears pretty plainly, from this passage in Ausonius: *I have sent to your highness the Apologues of Titian, and Nepos's Chronicle, as containing another set of Apologues (for they are indeed no better than fables)* as likewise from what Tertullian in his Apology against the Gentiles (when he expressly reckons him amongst the writers of antiquities) says, that he made Saturn to be no more than a man. Which account Lactantius likewise gives of him, B. 1. ch. 13. He left besides the lives of several illustrious men, which Gellius makes mention of, B. 11. ch. 8. and Servius on the first Æneid. Charisius quotes the 1st, 15th, and 16th book; of these we

vita : *Sed nos tempus est hujus libri facere finem, & Romanorum explicare imperatores; quòd facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi sint possit judicari.* Operis ejus genuina inscriptio patet ex ultimis hisce præfationis verbis; *Quare ad propositum veniemus, & in hoc exponemus libro Vitas Excellentium Imperatorum.* Præter Imperatores seorsim exarasse librum de Regibus, argumento hic erunt, quæ Timoleontis vitæ subdit : *Hi fere fuisse Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videantur, præter reges; namque eos attingere nolimus, quòd omnium res gestæ separatim sunt relatæ: Neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi.* Externi imperatores, quos habemus, Æmilii esse Probi a multis creduntur. Qui error inde provenit, quod librario id fuerit nomen, qui vitas eas partim sua partim patris et matris manu scriptas, Theodosio obtulit. Hoc ita esse, ostendunt versiculi qui vitis istis præmitti in

have 22 commanders of foreign nations. And that in his other books he treated of the Romans, these words of his in the latter end of Hannibal's life sufficiently shew: *But it is now time for us to put an end to this book, and give you the lives of the Roman commanders, that, by comparing the actions of both, the readers may judge which ought to have the preference.* The proper title to this work appears plainly from these words in his preface. *Wherefore we shall now proceed to the execution of our design, and in this book give an account of the lives of the excellent commanders.* That he wrote the lives of several kings, besides these commanders, is plain from the words following the life of Timoleon: *These were in a manner all the Greek commanders worth our notice, besides kings; for we had no design of meddling with them, having already written their lives by themselves: And they are not indeed many in number.* The foreign commanders, we have, are thought by many to be the work of Æmilius Probus. The occasion of which mistake was, that the librarian was so called, who presented

MSS. solent. Ac nec Æmilium, nec Theodosiani ævi quenquam, eorum esse librorum auctorem, abunde arguit pura & Romana dictio. Opinetur aliquis, ut Trogius ab Justino, ita ab Æmilio, qui sub Theodosio vixit, in compendium esse redactum Nepotem: Sed aliud suadet operis concinnitas, & illa præfandi ratio, quæ est in Epaminondæ vita, ac in Pelopidæ imprimis, ubi breviter justam pollicetur. Attamen sententia hæc, licet erronea, minus periculi habeat, dummodo extra contrariam maneat, Æmilium omnia de purissimis Nepotis fontibus hausisse. Sane Tulliani esse æviscriptorem, neque alium quam Nepotem; tum veterum aliquot librorum indicio cognoscitur; tum etiam, quod ad Pomponium Atticum (cujus idem rogatu de vita Catonis librum fecit) vitæ istæ scribantur: utcunque id in quarto miscellaneorum suorum neget Hieronymus Magius; qui ipsa Nepotis præfatione satis refelli-

the emperor Theodosius with these lives, written in part by himself, and part by his father and mother: That this is so, is evident from the verses, which in the manuscript copies are usually prefixed to these lives. But the purity of the diction, which is truly Roman, sufficiently proves, that neither Æmilius, nor any one else in the days of Theodosius, was the author of these books. Some perhaps may think that as Trogius was abridged by Justin, so was Nepos too by this Æmilius, who lived in the time of Theodosius: But the neatness of the work, and what he says in entering upon the life of Epaminondas, and that of Pelopidas especially, where he promises to be concise, will not allow us to think so. But however, this opinion, though erroneous, is of no dangerous consequence, so long as it is beyond all dispute, that Æmilius took every thing from Nepos. And indeed, that the writer was contemporary with Tully, and no other than Nepos, appears sufficiently, as well from the testimony of some old authors, as the dedication of the work to Pomponius Atticus, at whose re-

tur. Accedit & altera ratio. Nam his in libris ea legere est, quæ opus hoc scriptum esse clamant, quo tempore Pompeius & Cæsar plus poterant, quàm libera in Rep. expediret. Ea Lambinus loca conguessit, ut nihil attineat illa hic reponere. Nec libris istis de viris illustribus solum persecutus est excellentes imperatores: sed etiam commentationibus claros. Quod argumentum signat Hieronymus, præfatione de scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis ubi Nepotem inter eos refert, quorum exemplo acturus sit de iis, qui scribendo claruerunt. Egit autem Nepos, tum de Græcis auctoribus; tum de Latinis. De Græcis, colligo inde, quod in Dionis vita dicat, librum se fecisse de illustribus historicis; in quo inter alia tractarit de Philisto historico. De Latinis, argumenta sunt plurima. Nam de Terentio egisse, ex Suetonio scimus in Terentii vita, Donato perperam tributa. Ad hæc primum de vita Ciceronis librum Gellius

quest the same person wrote the life of Cato, notwithstanding Hieronymus Magius denies it in the 4th book of his miscellanies, who is sufficiently confuted by the preface of Nepos. We have likewise another proof of it: for several passages in the book most plainly evince, that it was written at the time when the power of Pompey and Cesar was grown to a height dangerous to the public liberty. Lambinus has collected the passages to that purpose, and therefore I need not produce them here. Nor in his lives of illustrious men did he confine himself to such alone as excelled in the military way; but likewise took in those that had rendered themselves famous by their writings, as appears from Jerom's preface to his account of the Ecclesiastical writers, where he reckons Nepos among the precedents he should follow in his account of such as had been famous for writing. Nepos treated as well of the Greek as the Latin authors. As to the Greek, I go upon what he says in the life of Dion, where he tells us he had written, a book of the most considerable historians, in which, a-

citat. lib. xv. cap. xxviii. Eoque ex opere fragmentum Hieronymus adfert epist. ad Pammachium. Imo verisimile est, inde esse, tum vitam T. Pomponii Attici, quæ exstat, tum vitam Catonis, quam istis claudit verbis: *Hujus de vita & moribus, plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici, Quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus*: Aperte indicat, eo nunc de Catone brevius se agere quia separatim de eodem scripserit. Ergo vita illa Catonis, quam paucis perstrictam habemus, majoris pars est voluminis, in quo Romanorum complurium vitæ continerentur. Et sane in antiquissimo codice Oberti Gifanii ante vitam Attici legebantur hæc verba: *Ex libro Cornelii Nepotis de Latinis historicis*. Reliquit etiam Exemplorum libros, quos citant Gellius, lib. vii. cap. 18. & Charisius, lib. i. Alia quoque ejusdem laudant veteres, sed non item quæ ad histo-

mongst others, he had given an account of Philistus the historian. As to the Latin authors, it is many ways evident; for we learn from Suetonius's life of Terence, falsely ascribed to Donatus, that he had given an account of that author. Gellius too quotes the first book of the life of Cicero, in the 28th ch. of his 15th B. And Jerom, in his epistle to Pammachius produces a quotation from that work. Nay, it is likely that the life we have of T. Pomponius Atticus was taken from thence, as well as that of Cato, which he closes with these words: *We have given a larger account of his life and behaviour in that book we published of him alone, which those, that are desirous to be more fully acquainted with Cato, may consult if they please*. He plainly declares the reason, why the account he there gives of Cato is so brief, to be his having published his life by itself before. *Wherefore the short life of Cato we have is the part of a bigger volume, wherein were contained the lives of several other Romans*. And indeed the following words were read in a most ancient book of Obertus Gifanius before

riam pertineant. Nam ex epistola ejus ad Ciceronem quædam Lactantius adfert, lib. iii. Instit. Divin. cap. 16. Quemadmodum & Ciceronis ad Nepotem epistolæ meminit Tranquillus in Julio, cap. lv. Amianus Marcellinus initio libri xxv. ac Priscianus lib. viii. Imo & secundum Ciceronis epistolarum librum ad Nepotem Macrobius, citat. lib. ii. Saturn. cap. i. Quod si quis fragmenta omnia Nepotis desideret, longe iis colligendis priorum vicit industriam Andreas Schottus. Hermolaus Barbarus, castigationibus in Plinii, lib. xv. cap. xxix. censet libellum de viris illustribus, qui Plinio tribui solet, Cornelii Nepotis esse haud Plinii, atque id veteribus codd. adstrui posse asseverat. Etiam Jani hæc Parrhasii sententia fuit. Utrius sit, dubitari ait Vinetus, nec ea de re quicquam statuere ausus est. Imo aliqui, aut Suetonium, - aut Tacitum esse auctorem putarunt: ut indicat Gyraldus dialogismo xxvi. Sed omni-

the life of Atticus; *From Cornelius Nepos's book of the Latin historians.* He left behind him likewise books of examples, which Gellius quotes, B. 7. ch. 18. and Charisius, B. 1. The ancients commend other works of his too that were not historical. For Lactantius produces something out of an epistle of his to Cicero, in the 15th ch. of the 3d book of his divine institutions; as Tranquillus, in the 55th chapter of Julius Cesar's life, makes mention of an Epistle of Cicero's to Nepos; as do likewise Amianus Marcellinus in the beginning of the 25th book, and Priscian, B. viii. Macrobius too, B. 2. ch. i. of his Saturnalia, quotes the 2d book of Cicero's epistles to Nepos. But if any one has a fancy to see all the fragments of Nepos, Andreas Schottus has in his collection of them far exceeded the industry of all that went before him. Hermolaus Barbarus, in his emendations upon Pliny, B. 15. ch. 29. thinks that the book of illustrious men, which is usually ascribed to Pliny, is Cornelius Nepos's, and not Pliny's; and pretends to say, that the thing may be proved from old Manuscripts;

no sunt Sexti Aurelii Victoris; ut satis nunc constat ex editione Andreæ Schotti Non dubito interim, quin pleraque ex Nepote Victor desumserit. Nam quod Ludovicus Vives lib. v. *de Tradendis Disciplinis*, Nepotem ait de Græcis solum ducibus scripsisse; id satis refellitur verbis Nepotis antea adductis. Vir doctissimus, Jo. Maria Catanæus, commentario in Plinii librum iv. epist. xxviii. quæ ad Severum scripta est, etiam Daretem Phrygium a Nepote translatum arbitratur. Nempe decipit eum vulgaris ἐπιτετακτὴν Attamen & hic aqua hæret Vineto, notis in Auson Idyll. vii. Negat esse, qui certi aliquid de translatione hac ausit affirmare. Atqui omnes, quibus ullum in hisce literis judicium est, satis vident, nec Daretem illum esse genuinum, nec dictionem ejus Augustæam sapere ætatem; sed recentiore multo. Nepotem autem Cæs. Augusti obiisse ævo, Plinius testatur, lib. ix. cap. xxxix. Atque hoc

which likewise was the opinion of Janus Parrhasius. Vinetus says, it is doubted which of them was the author, and durst not take upon him to determine the point. Nay, some have been of opinion, that Suetonius or Tacitus was the author as Gyraldus informs us in his 66th dialogue: but it is certainly Sextus Aurelius Victor's, as is now sufficiently manifest, from the edition of Andreas Schottus. I doubt not however, but he borrowed most of what he had from Nepos. For what Ludovicus Vives says, in his 5th book *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, that Nepos wrote only of the Grecian generals, is sufficiently confuted by the words of Nepos quoted above. A very learned gentleman, John Maria of Catana, in his commentary upon the 28th ch. of the 4th book of Pliny's Epistles, which was written to Severus, says, that Dares Phrygius was translated by Nepos. The vulgar title, it seems, deceived him. Yet here again Vinetus is at a loss, and pretends to say, that whether that translation was Nepos's or not, cannot with any degree of certainty be determined. But all that

fortasse impulit Genebrardum, ut putaret eum nato jam Christo superstitem fuisse ; qui & Jacobum Gualterium cum primum tabulas ederet Chronographicas, in eam sententiam pertraxit. Sed Nepotem eo usque ætatem prorogasse, nemo temere dixerit, qui tanti eum in literis nominis, jam Tullii, Attici, Catulli temporibus, fuisse cogitarit.

have any thing of taste in this kind of literature, see plainly, that Dares is a spurious piece, and that the style is nothing like that of the age of Augustus ; but is much later. But Pliny informs us, B. 9. ch. 39. that Nepos died in Augustus's reign And it was this perhaps made Genebrard think that Nepos was living at the birth of Christ, who likewise drew over James Gualterius, when he first published his chronological tables, to his opinion. But scarcely any one sure will pretend to say, that Nepos lived till that time, who considers, that he was a person who made a considerable figure for learning in the days of Tully, Atticus, and Catullus.

Cornelii Nepotis Excellentium Imperatorum Vitæ, ad T. Pomponium Atticum.

Cornelius Nepos's Lives of the Excellent Commanders, to T. Pomponius Atticus.

AUCTORIS PRÆFATIO.

NON dubito fore ple-
rosque, Attice, qui hoc
genus scripturæ leve &
non satis dignum sum-
morum virorum person-
is judicent; quum rela-
tum legent, quis musi-
cam docuerit Epami-
nondam; aut in ejus vir-
tutibus commemorari,
saltasse eum commode,
scienterque tibiis can-
tasse. Sed hi erunt fere,
qui expertes literarum
Græcarum, nihil rectum,
nisi quod ipsorum mori-
bus conveniat, putabunt.
Hi si didicerint, non ea-
dem omnibus honesta
atq; turpia, sed omnia
majorum institutis judi-
cari; non admirabuntur,
nos in Graiorum virtuti-
bus exponendis mores e-
orum secutos. Neque
enim Cimoni fuit turpe,
Atheniensium summo
viro sororem germanam
habere in matrimonio;
quippe quum cives ejus

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

I DOUBT not there will
be a great many, Atticus,
who will judge this way of
writing *too* light, and not suf-
ficiently adapted to the cha-
racters of *these* great persons,
when they find it related,
who taught Epaminondas
music, or reckoned among his
fine qualities that he danced
handsomely, and played well
upon the flute. But these will
be generally such, as being
unacquainted with the Greek
language, will think nothing
right but what is agreeable
to their own fashions. If these
people understood *once*, that
the same things are not hon-
ourable and scandalous with
all people; but that all things
are judged of by the usages
of *our* forefathers; they will
not wonder that we, in re-
lating the noble qualifi-
cations of the Greeks, have
followed their fashions. For
it was not scandalous in Ci-
mon, a very great man a-
mongst the Athenians, to

eodem uterentur instituto: at id quidem nostris moribus nefas habetur. Laudi in Græcia ducitur adolescentulis quam plurimos habere amatores. Nulla Lacedæmoni tam est nobilis vidua, quæ non ad scenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus tota fuit Græcia, victorem Olympiæ citari. In scenam vero prodire, & populo esse spectaculo, nemini in eisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atq; ab honestate remota ponuntur. Contra ea, pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quæ apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cujus materfamilias non primum lo-

have his(a) own sister in marriage, because his countrymen used the same custom: But that is accounted unlawful, according to our usage. It is reckoned a *mighty* commendation in Greece for young men to have a great many lovers. There is no widow so noble at Lacedæmon, that will not go upon the stage, *if* hired with a valuable consideration. It was reckoned amongst the greatest glories to be proclaimed a conqueror at(b) Olympia; but to appear upon the stage, and to be a spectacle to the people was a scandal to nobody in the same nations. All which things are reckoned with us partly infamous, partly mean, and far from honourable. On the other hand, a great many things in our customs are decent, which are thought scandalous amongst them. For which of the Romans is ashamed to

(a) That is, by the same father, but not the same mother, as appears from our author himself, in the Life of Cimon.

(b) Olympia is a town of Elis, in the West parts of Peloponnesus, famous for the games celebrated there every four years, by a great concourse of people from all parts of Greece, and other places; and the persons victorious therein were received, upon their return into their own country with the greatest honours. These games were instituted in the year before Christ 776.

cum tenet ædium, atque in celebritate versatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Græcia; nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum; neque sedet nisi interiore parte ædium, que γυναικωνίτις appellatur: quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus. Sed plura persequi tum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio, ut ea explicem quæ exorsus sum. Quare ad propositum veneimus & in hoc exponemus libro vitas excellentium imperatorum.

bring his wife to a feast? Or whose wife has not the first room in the house, and converses with company? Which is quite otherwise in Greece; for she is neither admitted to a feast, unless of relations; nor sits but in the inner part of the house, which is called the woman's apartment, whither nobody comes, unless allied to her by near relation. But both the smallness of the *intended* volume, and also the haste *I am in* to relate the things I have undertaken, permit me not to say more *to this point*. Wherefore, we shall come to our purpose, and relate in this book the lives of the excellent commanders.

I.

I.

MILTIADES,

*Cimonis filius, Athenien-
sis.*

MILTIADES,

*The son of Cimon, the Athe-
nian.*

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.

MILTIADES, Ci-
monis filius Atheniensis,
quum & antiquitate ge-
neris, & gloria majorum,
& sua modestia, unus
omnium maxime flore-
ret; eaque esset ætate,
ut non jam solum de eo
bene sperare, sed etiam
confidere cives possent
sui, talem futurum qua-
lem cognitum judica-
runt; accidit ut Atheni-
enses Chersonesum co-
lonos vellent mittere.
Cujus generis quum
magnus numerus esset,
& multi ejus demigra-
tionis peterent societa-
tem: ex his delecti
Delphos (a)deliberatum

When Miltiades the son
of Cimon the Athenian, made
of all others the greatest fi-
gure, both for the antiquity
of his family, and the glory
of his ancestors, and his own
modesty; and was of that age,
that his countrymen might
now not only hope well of
him, but even assure them-
selves, he would be such a
one as they judged him upon
trial; it happened that the
Athenians had a mind to
send a colony to the (b) Cher-
sonese. Of which kind of peo-
ple, as there was a great num-
ber, and many desired a share
in this expedition, some chos-
en from amongst them, were
sent to consult the Oracle

(a) The word *deliberatum* being taken here in an uncommon sense, those that follow, *viz. qui consulerent Apollinem*, seem to have been put in the margin by somebody to explain the meaning of *delibera-
tum*, and thence, through the heedlessness of some copiers of books, to have crept into the text; for without this supposition, it will be hard, I doubt, to excuse our author from being guilty of an insipid tautology.

(b) Chersonese is a word originally Greek, signifying the same with *Peninsula* in Latin; that is, a place almost surrounded with wa-
ter. The Chersonese here meant was a part of Thrace, lying along the Hellespont.

missi sunt, qui consulerent Apollinem, quo potissimum duce uterentur. Nam tum Thraces eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus armis erat dimicandum. His consulentibus nominatim Pythia præcepit, ut Miltiadem sibi imperatorem sumerent: Id si fecissent, incepta prospera futura. Hoc oraculi responso, Miltiades, cum delecta manu, classe Chersonesum profectus, cum accessisset Lemnum, & incolas ejus insulæ sub potestatem redigere vellet Atheniensium, idque ut Lemnii sua sponte facerent, postulasset; illi irridentes responderunt, Tum id se facturös, quum ille, domo navibus proficiscens, vento Aquilone venisset Lemnum: hic enim ventus a septentrionibus oriens, adversum

what leader they should above others make use of. (a) For the Thracians, at that time, had possession of those parts, with whom they were to fight *for it* with arms. The Pythoness did expressly order those that consulted her, to take Miltiades to them as their commander: If they did that, their undertakings would be successful. Upon this answer of the Oracle, Miltiades, with a choice body of *men*, going for the Chersonese with a fleet, after he was come up to Lemnus (b), and desirous to reduce the inhabitants of that island under the power of the Athenians, had demanded that the Lemnians would do that of their own accord; they bantering *him* replied, That they would then do it, when he, coming by ship from home, should arrive at Lemnus with the wind *called* Aquilo. For this wind arising from the North is full against those

(a) The Oracles, of which such frequent mention is made in the writings of the ancients, were answers given in the temples of their gods, to queries about future events, by the priest, or sometimes by a priestess, as here, and commonly in verse. The Greeks scarcely ever undertook any business of importance, without consulting their Oracle at Delphos, which was famous even in foreign countries. Delphos was a town in Achaia, not far from the Corinthian Bay.

(b) Lemnus is an island in the north parts of the Ægean Sea.

tenet Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades, morandi tempus non habens, cursum direxit quo tendebat, pervenitque Chersonesum.

CAP. II. Ibi brevi tempore, Barbarorum copiis disiectis, tota regione quam petierat, positus, loca castellis idonea communivit: multitudinem, quam secum duxerat, in agris collocavit, crebisque excursionibus locupletavit. Neque minus in ea re prudentia quam felicitate, adjutus est: nam quum virtute militum devicisset hostium exercitus, summa æquitate res constituit; atque ipse ibidem manere decrevit. Erat enim inter eos dignitate regia: quamvis carebat nomine, neq; id majus imperio quam justitia consecutus. Neque eo segnius Atheniensibus a quibus erat profectus, officia præstabat. Quibus rebus fiebat, ut non minus eorum voluntate perpetuo imperium obtineret, qui miserant, quam illorum cum quibus erat profectus. Chersone-

that come from Athens. Miltiades, having no time to stay, steered on his course to the place he was bound for, and came to the Chersonese.

CHAP. II. There, in a short time, the forces of the Barbarians being routed, having made himself master of all the country he went for, he fortified places proper for castles; settled the people which he had carried along with him, in the lands, and enriched them by frequent excursions. Nor was he less assisted in that matter by good conduct, than good fortune: For after he had, by the bravery of his soldiers, routed the enemy's armies, he settled affairs with the greatest equity, and resolved to continue in the same place himself. For he was amongst them *invested* with regal authority, though he wanted the name. Nor did he compass that more by his command *in this expedition*, than his justice. Nor did he the less perform all offices of *due subjection* to the Athenians from whom he had gone. By which means it came to pass, that he held the government without intermission, no less by the consent of those who

so tali modo constituta, Lemnum revetritur : & ex pacto, postulat, ut sibi urbem tradant : Illi enim dixerant, quum vento Borea domo profectus eo pervenisset, sese dedituros ; se autem domum Chersonesi habere. Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etsi præter opinionem res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, sed secunda fortuna adversariorum capti, resistere ausi non sunt, atque ex insula demigrarunt. Pari felicitate cæteras insulas, quæ Cyclades nominantur, sub Atheniensium redegit potestatem.

CAP. III. Eisdem temporibus Persarum rex Darius, ex Asia in Europam exercitu trajecto, Scythis bellum inferre decrevit : pontem fecit in Istro flumine,

had sent him, than of those with whom he had gone. Having thus settled the Chersonese, he returns to Lemnus, and demands, according to their promise, that they should surrender up the city to him. For they had said, that when coming from home with a North wind, he arrived there, they would surrender; but that he now had his home at the Chersonese. The (a) Carians who at this time inhabited Lemnus, although the business had happened contrary to their expectation, yet being not moved by their promise, but the good fortune of their adversaries, durst not resist, and removed out of the Island. With the like good fortune he reduced the other Islands, which are called Cyclades, under the power of the Athenians.

CHAP. III. About the same time Darius, king of the Persians, drawing an army over out of Asia into Europe, resolved to make war upon the (b) Scythians. He made a bridge upon the river

(a) The Carians were a people in the south-west parts of Asia Minor. Their country is called Caria.

(b) The inhabitants of the North of Europe and Asia were formerly called Scythians.

qua copias traduceret. Ejus pontis, dum ipse abesset, custodes reliquit principes quos secum ex Ionia & Æolide duxerat: quibus singulis ipsarum urbium perpetuam dederat imperia. Sic enim putavit facillime se Græca lingua loquentes, qui Asiam incolerent, sub sua retenturum potestate, si amicis suis oppida tuenda tradidisset: quibus, se oppresso, nulla spes salutis relinqueretur. In hoc fuit tum numero Miltiades, cui illa custodia crederetur. Hic, quum crebri afferrent nuntii male rem gerere Darium, premique a Scythis; Miltiades hortatus est pontis custodes, ne a fortuna datam occasionem liberandæ Græciæ demitterent: Nam si cum iis copiis, quas secum transportaverat interisset Darius, non solum Europam fore tutam, sed etiam eos, qui Asiam incolerent, Græci genere, liberos à Persarum futuros domina-

Ister, by which to draw his troops over. He left the Princes, which he had brought along with him from Ionia^(a) and Æolis, keepers of that bridge, whilst he was away; to each of which he had given the perpetual sovereignty of their *several* cities. For thus he thought he should most easily keep under his subjection such as spoke the Greek tongue, that inhabited Asia, if he delivered up *those* cities to be maintained by his friends, to whom no hope of security would be left if he was conquered. Miltiades was then in this number, to whom the guard of *the bridge* was entrusted. Here, when frequent messengers brought *word*, that Darius managed his business *but* badly, and was hard put to it by the Scythians; Miltiades advised the keepers of the bridge, that they would not let slip an opportunity of delivering Greece given *them* by fortune: For if Darius should perish with the army which he had carried over with him, not only Europe would be safe, but likewise

(a) Ionia and Æolus were countries of Asia Minor, lying along the coast of the Ægean Sea.

tione & periculo. Id & facile effici posse : ponte enim rescisso, regem vel hostium ferro vel inopiâ paucis diebus interitum. Ad hoc consilium quum plerique accederent, Histæus Milesius, ne res conficeretur, obstitit, dicens, non idem ipsis, qui summas imperii tenerent, expedire et multitudini, quod Darii regno ipsorum niteretur dominatio : Quo extincto ipsos potestate expulsos civibus suis pœnas duros. Itaque adeo se abhorrere à cæterorum consilio, ut nihil putet ipsis utilius, quàm confirmari regnum Persarum. Hujus quum sententiam plurimi essent secuti, Miltiades non dubitans, tam multis consiliis, ad regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit, ac rursus Athenas demigravit. Cujus ratio etsi non valuit, tamen magnopere est laudanda, quum amicior omnium libertati, quàm suæ fuerit dominationi.

those who, being Greeks by original, inhabited Asia, would be free from the dominion of the Persians, and *all* danger. And that that might easily be effected ; for the bridge being cut down, the king would in a few days perish, either by the enemy's sword, or want. When most of them came into the advice, Histæus the Milesian opposed the *business*, that the thing was not done, saying, that the same thing was not expedient for them who had the sovereignty of *their cities*, and the people ; that their authority depended upon the kingdom of Darius ; which being destroyed, that they being deposed from their office, would be punished by their subjects. Wherefore, he was so far from agreeing to the counsel of the rest, that he thought nothing was more advantageous to them, than the establishment of the kingdom of the Persians. As most of them followed his advice, Miltiades not doubting, so many being *privy to the matter*, that his counsels would come to the king's ears, quitted the Chersonese, and again removed to Athens: Whose advice, though it did not prevail, yet

CAP. IV. Darius autem, quum ex Europa in Asiam rediisset, hortantibus amicis, ut Græciam in suam redigeret potestatem classem quingentarum navium comparavit, eique Datim præfecit et Artaphernem: hisque ducenta peditum millia, et decem equitum dedit, causam interserens, se hostem esse Atheniensibus, quòd eorum auxilio Ionæ Sardes expugnassent, suaque præsidia interfecissent. Præfecti regii, classe ad Eubæam impulsâ, celeriter Eretriam ceperunt, omnesque ejus gentis cives abreptos, in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde ad Atti-

is mightily to be commended, since he was more a friend to the liberty of all, than his own authority.

CHAP. IV. But Darius, after he had returned out of Europe into Asia, his friends advising him *to it*, that he might reduce Greece under his authority, fitted out a fleet, of five hundred ships, and set Datis and Artaphernes over it, and gave them two hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; alledging *this* reason, that he was an enemy to the Athenians, because by their assistance the (*a*) Ionians had taken (*b*) Sardis, and cut off his garrison. *These* admirals of the king, having brought up their fleet to (*c*) Eubæa, quickly took Eretria, and sent all the natives of that nation, being taken from thence, into Asia to the king. After that they came to (*d*) At-

(*a*) The Ionians were a people of Asia Minor, bordering upon the Ægean Sea, being a colony of Greeks sent thither by the Athenians, about 1044 years before Christ.

(*b*) Sardis was the metropolis of Lydia, a country bordering upon Ionia to the eastward.

(*c*) Eubæa is a large island of the Ægean Sea, separated from Achaia by a narrow sea called the Euripus.

(*d*) Attica was the country of the Athenians, in the east part of Achaia, lying along an arm of the Ægean sea, called the Saronic Bay.

cam accesserunt, ac suas copias in campum Marathona deduxerunt. Is abest ab oppido circiter millia passuum decem. Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo, tamque magno permoti, auxilium nusquam nisi à Lacedæmoniis petiverunt; Philippidemque; cursorem ejus generis, qui hemerodromi vocantur, Lacedæmonem miserunt, ut nunciaret quàm celeri opus esset auxilio. Domi autem creati decem Prætores, qui exercitui præessent: in eis Miltiades. Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrùm mœnibus se defenderent, an obviam irent hostibus, acieque; decernerent. Unus Miltiades maximè nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore castra fierent: Id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari; et hostes eadem re fore tardiores, si animadverterent auderi ad-

tica, and drew out their troops into the plain of Marathon. That is distant about ten miles from the town of *Athens*. The Athenians being very much startled at this alarm, so near them, and so prodigious, sought for assistance no where, but from the Lacedemonians; and despatched away Philippides, a courier of that kind, who are called day-couriers, (a) to Lacedæmon, to tell *them* what speedy assistance they had occasion for. But at home ten officers were chosen to command the army; amongst them was Miltiades. Amongst whom there was a mighty dispute whether they should defend themselves by *their* walls, or march to meet the enemy, and engage them in the field. Miltiades alone very much insisted upon it, that a camp should be formed as soon as possible: If that was done that both courage would grow upon their countrymen, when they saw their *commanders* did not despair of their bravery; and the enemy would be *rendered* by the same means more

(a) Lacedæmon was a city in the south parts of Peloponnesus.

versus se tam exiguis
copiis dimicare.

CAP. V. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit præter Platænsium : ea mille misit militum. Itaque horum adventu, decem millia armatorum completa sunt ; quæ manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate ; quo factum est, ut plus, quam collegæ Miltiades valerit. Ejus enim auctoritate impulsæ Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt, locoque idoneo castra fecerunt : deinde postero die sub montis radicibus, acie e regione instructâ, novâ arte, visum prælium commiserunt. Namque arbores multis locis erant strata, hoc consilio, ut et montium tegerentur altitudine, et arborum tractu equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis, et

backward, when they found they durst engage them with so small a force.

CHAP. V. At this time no state was assisting to the Athenians, besides the (a) Platænsians ; that *state* sent a thousand soldiers. Wherefore, upon their arrival, they were ten thousand armed men complete ; which army was fired with a wonderful desire of fighting. By which means it came to pass, that Miltiades prevailed more than his fellow-commissioners. For the Athenians, wrought upon by his authority, drew their troops out of the city, and formed a Camp in a proper place ; and then the day following having drawn up their army at the bottom of a mountain over against *the enemy*, with uncommon art, they joined battle with the utmost mettle (b). For there were trees laid in many places, with this design, that they might be covered by the height of the mountains, and the enemy's

(a) Platea was a town in Bœotia, about twelve or fourteen miles from Athens to the north-west.

(b) The Latin text is here very much corrupted, and therefore if the translation appear not to be very good sense, the reader will excuse it.

si non locum æquum videbat suis, tamen fretus numero copiarum suarum, configere cupiebat: eoque magis, quod priusquam Lacedæmonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem reditum millia centum, equitum decem millia produxit, præliumque commisit. In quo tanto plus virtute valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemplicem numerum hostium profligarent: adeoque perterruerunt, ut Persæ non castra, sed naves peterent. Quâ pugnâ nihil adhuc est nobilius. Nulla enim unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

CAP. VI. Cujus victoriæ, non alienum videtur, quale præmium Miltiadi sit tributum, docere; quo facilius intelligi possit, *eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam*. Utenim populi nostri honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues, obeamque causam gloriosi, nunc

horse might be hindered by the lying of the trees, that they might not be inclosed by their numbers. Datis, although he saw the place was not convenient for his men, yet depending upon the number of his troops, was desirous to engage; and the rather, because he thought it convenient to fight before the Lacedæmonians came to their assistance. Wherefore he drew out into the field a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and joined battle. In which the Athenians prevailed so much more *than the enemy*, by their bravery, that they routed ten times the number of enemies, and so affrighted them, that the Persians did not make for their camp, but their ships. Than which fight there is nothing as yet more famous; for no army so small ever routed so vast a force *before*. 9

CHAP. VI. For which victory, it does not seem improper to inform *the reader*, what reward was given Miltiades; that it may be the more easily understood, *that the nature of all cities is the same*. For as the honours of our people were formerly rare and small, and for that reason glorious, but now ex-

autem effusi, atque obsoleti: sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas totamque Græciam liberavit, talis honos tributus est, in porticu, quæ *Pæcile* vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia; ut in decem prætorum numero prima ejus imago poneretur, isque hortaretur milites, præliumque committerent. Idem ille populus, posteaquam majus imperium est nactus, et largitione magistratuum corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.

J CAP. VII. Post hoc prælium classem septuagint navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quæ Barbaros adjuverant, bello persequeretur. Quo imperio plerasque ad officium redire coegit, nonnullas vi expugnavit.

travagant, and worn threadbare; thus we find it to have been formerly amongst the Athenians. For such was the honour paid to Miltiades, who delivered Athens, and all Greece, in the Piazza which is called *Pæcile*, when the battle of Marathon was painted *there*, that his picture was placed first in the number of the ten commanders, and he encouraged the soldiers, and began the battle. The same people, after they got a larger *extent* of dominion, and were corrupted by the extravagance of *their own* magistrates, decreed three hundred statues to (a) Demetrius Phalereus.

CHAP. VII. After this battle, the Athenians gave the same Miltiades a fleet of seventy ships, that he might prosecute in war the islands that had assisted the Barbarians. In which command he obliged most of them to return to their duty; some he took by force. Not being able

(a) Demetrius was governor of Athens about 300 years before Christ; but, being driven from thence, went into Egypt, where, upon account of his learning, he was made President of the *Musæum*, or academy erected at Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter.

Ex his Parum insulam, opibus elatam, quam oratione reconciliare non posset, copias e navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit, omniq; commeatu privavit : Deinde vineis ac testudinibus constitutis, propius muros accessit. Quum jam in eo esset, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu, nocturno tempore incensus est ; cujus flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est visa, utriusque venit in opinionem, signum a classiariis regiis datum. Quo factum est, ut et Parii a deditione deterrerentur, et Miltiades, timens ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus, quæ statuerat, cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus, Athenas magna cum offensione civium suorum rediret. Accusatus ergo

by persuasion to prevail upon *one* of these, the island (a)Parus, *too much* elated by their power, he drew his troops out of his ships, blocked up the city by lines drawn round it, and deprived it of all provisions ; and then having erected his (b)vineæ and testudos, came nearer the walls. When he was upon the point of taking the town, a grove at a distance upon the continent, which was visible from the island, by I know not what chance, was set on fire in the night-time ; the flame of which being seen by the townsmen and the besiegers, it came into the fancy of both, that it was a signal given by those on board the king's fleet, by which it came to pass, that both the Parians were dissuaded from surrendering, and Miltiades, fearing lest the king's fleet was come, setting fire to the works he had erected, returned to Athens to the great offence of his countrymen, with as many ships as he went

(a) Parus was one of the islands called Cyclades in the Ægean Sea.

(b) I have not trans'ated the Latin words *Vinea* and *Testudo*, because our language has none to answer them : they were machines made use of in sieges to cover the besiegers.

proditionis, quod cum Parum expugnare posset, à rege corruptus, infectis rebus à pugna discessisset. Eo tempore æger erat vulneribus, quæ in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque quoniam ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba pro eo fecit frater ejus Tisagoras. Causâ cognitâ capitis absolutus, pecunia mulctatus est, eaque lis quinquaginta talentis æstimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quodolvere non poterat, in vincula publica conjectus est, ibiq; diem obiit supremum.

CAP. VIII. Hic etsi crimine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia fuit causadammnationis. Namque Athenienses, propter Pisistrati tyrannidem quæ paucis annis ante

out with. Wherefore he was impeached of treachery, because, when he might have taken Parus, being bribed by the king of *Persia*, he had quitted the siege without doing his work. He was at that time ill of the wounds which he had received in attacking the town. Wherefore, because he could not speak for himself, his brother Tisagoras spoke for him. Upon hearing his cause, being acquitted as to life, he was fined a *sum* of money, and his fine was set at fifty talents, *which was* the charge they had been at in *fitting out* the fleet. Because he could not pay the money, he was thrown into the public gaol, and there he ended his last day.

CHAP. VIII. Although he was accused upon his mis-carriage at Parus, yet there was another reason of his condemnation. For the Athenians, because of the (*a*) usurpation of Pisistratus,

(*a*) I translate *tyrannis*, usurpation; because, though Pisistratus did, by seizing the government, destroy the liberty of his country, and was, upon that score, an execrable villain, yet he does not appear to have been at all tyrannical in his government. The word *tyrannus* was at first used in a good sense for a king or prince: then for an usurper, however he managed his power, when he had got it, as appears from our author; and, lastly, for a wicked barbarous prince, though no usurper.

fuerať, omnium suorum civium potentiam extimescebant. Miltiades multum in imperiis magistratibusque versatus, non videbatur posse esse privatus: præsertim cum consuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam Chersonesi, omnes illos quos habitarat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed justus. Non erat enim vi consecutus, sed suorum voluntate; eamque potestatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in eâ civitate, quæ libertate usa est. Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas, tum mira comitas, ut nemo tam humilis esset, cui non ad eum auditus pateret: magna auctoritas apud omnes civitates, nobile nomen, laus rei militaris maxima. Hæc populus respiciens, maluit eum innoxium plecti, quam se diutius esse in timore.

which had happened a few years before, dreaded the power of all their own citizens. Miltiades, having been much in command, and civil offices, did not seem capable of being a private person, especially since he seemed to be dragged by custom into a fondness for power. For he had held, without intermission, the sovereignty of the Chersonese all the years that he had lived there, and had been called Tyrannus, but *was* a just one: For he had not compassed *his power* by violence, but by the consent of his countrymen, and had kept his authority by his goodness. But all are both accounted and called tyrants, who are *invested* with power for life, in a state which had before enjoyed the *happiness* of liberty. But there was in Miltiades, both great humanity, and a wonderful complaisance, that nobody was so mean, to whom access to him was not allowed. His authority was great amongst all the cities of *Greece*, his name *was* famous, and his reputation for military affairs very considerable. The people considering these things, chose rather to have him punished,

innocent as he was, than to be any longer in fear of him.

II.

THEMISTOCLES

*Neocli Filius Athenien-
sis.*

CAP. I.

HUJUS vitia ineun-
tis adolescentiæ magnis
sunt emendata virtuti-
bus : adeo ut anteferatur
huic nemo, pauci pares
putentur. Sed ab initio
est ordiendum. Pater
ejus Neoclus generosus
fuit. Is uxorem Halicar-
nassiam civem duxit, ex
qua natus est Themisto-
cles. Qui cum minus es-
set probatus parentibus,
quod et liberius vivebat,
et rem familiarem negli-
gebat, a patre exhæreda-
tus est. Quæ contume-
lia non fregit eum, sed
erexit. Nam quum ju-

II.

THEMISTOCLES,

*The son of Neocles, the Athe-
nian.*

CHAP. I.

THE vices of his early
youth were made amends for
by *his* great virtues ; so that
nobody is preferred before
him, and few are thought his
equals. But we must begin
at the beginning. His father
Neocles was a gentleman ;
he married a lady of Halicar-
nassus, ^(a) of whom was born
Themistocles : who being not
at all approved of by his pa-
rents, because he lived too
fast, and neglected his estate,
was disinherited by his father ;
which rough usage did not
break *his spirit*, but roused
him. For as he judged that
blot could not be wiped off

(a) Halicarnassus was a town of Caria, a province in the south-
west parts of Asia Minor.

dicâset sine summa industria non posse eam extinguî, totum se dedit reipublicæ, diligentius amicis famæque serviens. Multum in judiciis privatis versabatur: sæpe in concionem populi prodibat; nulla res major sine illo gerebatur: celeriterque quæ opus erant, reperiēbat, facile eadem oratione explicabat. Neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus quam excogitandis erat; quod & *de instantibus* (ut ait Thucydides) *verissime judicabat, & de futuris calidissime conjiciebat.* Quo factum est, ut brevi tempore illustraretur.

CAP. II. Primus autem gradus fuit capessendæ reipublicæ, bello Corcyræo; ad quod gerendum Prætor a populo factus, non solum præsentî bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore ferociorem reddidit civitatem. Nam cum pecuniâ publica, quæ ex metallis re-

without the utmost industry, he gave himself entirely *to matters of government*, serving diligently his friends, and *his own reputation*. He was much concerned in private causes,(a) often came into the assembly of the people, no great thing was transacted without him, and he quickly discovered what was needful *to be done*, and easily laid open the same in his address *to the people*. Nor was he less expeditious in the management of business, than in the contrivance; because (as Thucydides says) *he judged very truly of things present, and guessed very shrewdly at things to come.* By which means it came to pass, that he was very famous in a short time.

CHAP. II. His first step in the undertaking of public business, was in the Corcyrean war; for the carrying on of which he was made prætor by the people, and made the city more daring, not only for the war then upon their hands, but for the time to come. For the public money which came in by

(a) Private causes were such wherein particular persons only, and not of the state or government were concerned.

dibat, largitione magistratuum quotannis interiret: ille persuasit populo, ut eâ pecunia classis centum navium ædificaretur. Qua celeriter effectâ, primum Corcyreos fregit, deinde maritimos prædones consectando, mare tutum reddidit. In quo cum divitiis ornavit, tum etiam peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses. Id quantæ salutis fuerit universæ Græciæ, bello cognitum est Persico. Nam quum Xerxes & mari & terrâ bellum universæ inferret Europæ, cum tantis eam copiis invasit, quantas neque ante, neque postea, habuit quisquam. Hujus enim classis mille & ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo millia onerariarum sequebantur. Terrestres autem exercitus septingentorum millium peditum, equitum quadringentorum millium fuerunt. Cujus de adventu quum fama in Græciam

the mines, being lost every year, by the extravagance of the magistrates, he persuaded the people, that a fleet of a hundred ships should be built with that money; which being quickly effected, he first reduced the Corcyreans, and then rendered the sea secure by chasing the pirates. In which he both enriched the Athenians with wealth, and likewise rendered them very skilful in sea-fights. How much that contributed to the preservation of all Greece was visible in the Persian war. For when Xerxes made war upon all Europe, both by sea and land, he invaded it with so great a force, as neither any one before or since had; for his fleet was a thousand two hundred (a) long ships, which two thousand ships of burden attended. His land armies were to the number of seven hundred thousand foot, and four hundred thousand horse. Concerning whose coming, when the news was brought into Greece, and the Athenians were said to be chiefly aimed at, because of

(a) The ships used in sea-fights or men of war, were of a longer make than the trading vessels, and therefore called *longæ Naves*.

esset perlata, et maxime Athenienses peti dice-rentur propter pugnam Marathoniam; miserunt Delphos consultum quidnam facerent de re-bus suis. Deliberantibus Pythia respondit, ut mœnibus ligneis se munirent. Id responsum quo valeret quum intel-ligeret nemo, Themisto-cles persuasit, consilium esse Apollinis, ut in na-ves sueque conferrent: eum enim a Deo signifi-cari murum ligneum. Tali consilio probato, addunt ad superiores to-tidem naves triremes; sueque omnia quæ mo-veri poterant, partim Salaminem partim Trœ-zenem, asportant: arcem sacerdotibus paucisque majoribus natu, ac sacra procuranda tradunt: re-liquum oppidum relin-quunt.

CAP. III. Hujus con-silium plerisque civitati-bus displicebat, & in ter-râ dimicari magis place-bat. Itaque missi sunt delecti cum Leonida La-

the battle of Marathon; they sent to Delphos, to consult what they should do in that case. The Pythoness an-swered the querists, that they should secure them-selves by wooden walls. When nobody could understand to what that answer tended, Themistocles persuaded them that it was the advice of Apollo, to get themselves and what they had, on board their ships, for that was the wooden wall meant by the God. This advice being ap-proved, they add to their for-mer as many more ships, with three banks of oars, and car-ry off all their goods that could be removed partly to Salamis(a) partly to Trœzen. They deliver up the citadel and holy things to the priests, and a few old men, to take care of, *and* leave the rest of the town.

CHAP. III. His advice dis-pleased most of the cities, and they liked rather to fight by land. Wherefore some chosen men were sent with Leonidas the king of the La-

(a) Salamis is an island almost over against Athens, and Trœzen a town of Peloponnesus upon the Saronic Bay.

cedæmoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent longiusque Barbaros progredi non pate-rentur. Hi vim hostium non sustinuerunt, eoque loco omnes interierunt. At classis communis Græciæ trecentarum navium, in qua ducentæ erant Atheniensium, primum apud Artemisium, inter Eubœam continentemque terram, cum classiariis regis conflixit. Angustias enim Themistocles quæ-rebat, ne multitudine circumiretur. Hinc etsi pari prælio discesserant, tamen eodem loco non sunt ausi manere, quod erat periculum, ne, si pars navium adversari-orum Eubœam superâs-set, ancipiti premerentur periculo. Quo factum est, ut ab Artemisio dis-cederent, & ex adversum Athenas apud Salamina classem suam constitue-rent.

cedemonians, to seize Ther-mopylæ(a), and hinder the barbarians from advancing any farther: These could not withstand the fury of the enemy, and all died in that place. But the common fleet of Greece, *consisting* of three hundred ships, in which were two hundred of the A-thenians, first engaged with the king's fleet at (b)Artemisium, betwixt Eubœa and the continent. For Themistocles sought a narrow sea *to en-gage in*, lest he should be surrounded by their numbers. Although they came off from hence with equal *advantage in the* fight, yet they durst not stay in the same place, because the danger was, lest, if a part of the enemy's ships should get round Eubœa, they should be(c) distressed by a double danger. Upon which account it came to pass, that they departed from Artemisium, and drew up their fleet over-against A-thens by Salamis.

(a) Thermopylæ is a narrow pass betwixt the Ægean Sea and the mountains, upon the confines of Thessaly and Achaia.

(b) Artemisium is a promontory in the north parts of the island of Eubœa.

(c) *Ancipiti periculo premi* signifies, in plain English, to be attacked in front and rear all at once.

CAP. IV. At Xerxes, Thermopylis expugnatis, protinus accessit astu: idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis sacerdotibus, quos in arce invenerat, incendio delavit. Cujus flamma perterriti classarii, quum manere non auderent, & plurimi hortarentur, ut domus suas quisque discederent, mœnibusque se defenderent, Themistocles unus restitit, et universos esse pares aiebat: dispersos testabatur perituros. Idque Eurybiadi regi Lacedæmoniorum, qui tum summæ imperii præerat, fore affirmabat. Quem quum minus quam vellet, moveret, noctu de servis suis quem habuit fidelissimum, ad regem misit, ut ei nunciaret suis verbis, adversarios ejus in fuga esse. Qui si discessissent, majore cum labore & longinquiore tempore bellum confecturum, cum singulos consecrari cogeretur; quos si statim aggrediretur, brevi universos oppressurum. Hoc eo valebat, ut ingratis ad depugnandum omnes

CHAP. IV. But Xerxes having taken Thermopylæ, immediately came to the city, and none defending it, slaying the priests which he found in the citadel, he destroyed it with fire. With the flame of which those on board the fleet being affrighted, not daring to stay, and many advising, that they should depart every one to their own homes, and defend themselves by their walls; Themistocles alone opposed it, and said, that altogether they would be a match *for them*; but declared that *if they separated* they would be ruined, and that, he affirmed, would be, to Eurybiades the king of the Lacedemonians, who at that time was in the chief command. Whom since he wrought upon less than he could wish, he sent by night the most trusty of the slaves, that he had to the king, to tell him in his words, that his enemies were about flying: That if they should depart, he would dispatch the war with greater trouble and longer time, since he would be obliged to pursue them singly, whom, if he attacked immediately, he might conquer all in a short *time*. This tended to that *purpose*,

cogerentur. Hac re auditâ Barbarus nihil doli subesse credens, postridie alienissimo sibi loco, contrâ opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari conflixit, ut ejus multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Victus est ergo magis consilio Themistoclis, quam armis Græciæ.

CAP. V. Hic Barbarus, etsi male rem gesserat, tamen tantas habebat reliquias copiarum, ut etiam cum his opprimere posset hostes. Interim tamen ab eodem gradu depulsus est. Nam Themistocles verens, ne bellare perseveraret, certiores eum fecit, id agi, ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur; ac reditu in Asiam excluderetur: Idque ei persuasit. Itaque qua sex mensibus

that they might be forced to fight altogether against their wills. The barbarian hearing this thing, supposing there was nothing of fraud in *the case*, engaged the day following in a place the most improper for himself, and on the other hand, very convenient for his enemies, in so narrow a sea, that the great number of his ships could not be drawn out *to a due length*. Wherefore he was conquered more by the contrivance of Themistocles, than the arms of Greece.

CHAP. V. Here although the Barbarian had managed his business *but* badly, yet he had such considerable remains of forces, that even with these he might have conquered his enemies. Notwithstanding in the mean time he was driven from his *(a)* stand by the same person. For Themistocles fearing lest he should continue the war, made him acquainted, that it was intended, that the bridge which he had made over the Hellespont should be broken down, and he pre-

(a) This is a metaphor taken from the gladiators, or fencers, who, when obliged to quit their stand, or ground, were said *gradu dejici* or *gradu depelli*.

iter fecerat, eadem minus diebus triginta in Asiam reversus est: seque a Themistocle non superatum, sed conservatum, judicavit. Sic unus viri prudentiâ Græcia liberata est, Europæque succubuit Asia. Hæc altera victoria, quæ cum Marathonio possit comparari tropæo. Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero navium maxima post hominum memoriam classis est devicta.

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CAP. VI. Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit, neque minor in pace. Quum enim Phalereo portu, neque magno neque bono, Athenienses uterentur, hujus consilio triplex Pyræi portus constitutus est: isque mœnibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate æquipararet, utilitate superaret. Idemque muros Atheniensium res-

vented from returning into Asia. And that he persuaded him was *certainly* so. Wherefore he returned into Asia, in less than thirty days, the same way by which he had made his march *thither in no less than six months*; and judged himself not conquered, but saved by Themistocles. Thus by the prudence of one man, Greece was delivered, and Asia fell under Europe. This is another victory that may be compared with the victory of Marathon; for the greatest fleet, since *we have had any* history of mankind, was conquered in the like manner at Salamis, with a small number of ships.

CHAP. VI. Themistocles was great in this war, and no less in peace. For whereas the Athenians made use of the Phalerean harbour, neither great nor good, by his advice a triple harbour was formed at (a) Pyræus, and that was surrounded with a wall; so that it equalled the city in beauty, and exceeded it in usefulness: And the same *man* rebuilt the walls of the Athenians, at his own

(a) Pyræus was a town at the mouth of the river, upon which Athens stood, and about five miles from that city.

tituit præcipuo suo periculo. Namque Lacedæmonii causam idoneam nacti, propter excursiones Barbarorum, qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem haberi, ne essent loca munita quæ hostes possiderent; Athenienses ædificantes prohibere sunt conati. Hoc longe alio spectabat, atque videri volebant. Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathonia & Salaminia, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentes erant consecuti, ut intelligerent Lacedæmonii de principatu sibi cum his certamen fore: quare eos quam infirmissimos esse volebant. Postquam autem audierunt muros instrui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri vetarent. His præsentibus desierunt, ac se de ea re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles, & solus primo profectus est: reliqui legati ut tum exirent, quum satis altitudo muri extructa videretur, præcepit; atque ut interim omnes servi

particular hazard. For the Lacedæmonians having got a fine pretence, by reason of the inroads of the Barbarians, whereupon to deny that any city ought to be kept without Peloponnesus, that there might be no fortified places which the enemy might possess themselves of, endeavoured to hinder the Athenians *from* building. This tended to quite another *purpose*, than they were willing should appear. For the Athenians, by the two victories of Marathon and Salamis, had got so much glory amongst all nations, that the Lacedæmonians were sensible they should have a dispute with them for the mastery. Wherefore they had a mind they should be as weak as possible. But after they heard the walls were building they sent ambassadors to Athens, to forbid that to be done. Whilst they were present, they gave over, and said they would send ambassadors to them about that affair. Themistocles undertook this embassy, and went alone at first: He ordered that the rest of the ambassadors should then set forward, when the height of the wall seemed pretty well advanced; and

atque liberi opus facerent; neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer esset, sive profanus, sive privatus, sive publicus: sed undique, quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent, congererent. Quo factum est, ut Atheniensium muri ex sacellis sepulchrisque constarent.

CAP VII. Themistocles autem, ut Lacedæmonem venit, adire ad magistratus noluit; & dedit operam, ut quàm longissimè tempus duceret, causam interponens, se collegas expectare. Quum Lacedæmonii quererentur opus nihilominus fieri, eumque ea re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati sunt consecuti; à quibus quum audisset, non multum superesse munitionis, ad Ephoros Lacedæmoniorum accessit, penes quos summum imperium erat: atque apud eos contendit, falsa his esse delata; quare æquum esse illos, viros bonos nobilesque mittere, quibus fides adhiberetur, qui rem explorarent: interea se

in the mean time that all slaves and freemen should work, and spare no place, whether it was sacred or profane, whether private or public; but get together from all hands what they thought proper to build with. From whence it came to pass that the walls of the Athenians consisted of chapels and sepulchres.

CHAP. VII. But Themistocles, as soon as he came to Lacedæmon, would not wait upon the magistrates, and did his endeavours to spin out the time as long as possible, alleging this reason, that he waited for his colleagues. When the Lacedæmonians complained that the work went on nevertheless, and that he endeavoured to deceive *them* in that matter, in the mean time the rest of the ambassadors came up: From whom, when he had heard that not much of the wall remained *to be done*, he went to the Ephori of the Lacedæmonians, in whom the supreme power was *vested*, and avers before them, that a false *account* had been given them: wherefore it was but reasonable for them to send honest men and gentlemen, to whom credit might be

E

obsidem retinerent. Gestus est ei mos, tresque legati, functi summis honoribus, Athenas missi sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles iussit proficisci, eisque prædixit, ut ne prius, Lacedæmoniorum legatos dimitterent, - quàm ipse esset remissus. Hos postquam Athenas pervenisse ratus est, ad magistratum senatumque Lacedæmoniorum adiit, & apud eos liberrime professus est, Athenienses suo consilio, quod communi jure gentium facere possent, deos publicos, suosque patrios ac penates, quò facilius ab hoste possent defendere muris sepsisse: neque eo, quod inutile esset Græciæ, fecisse. Nam illorum urbem, ut propugnaculum, oppositam esse Barbaris, apud quam jam bis classis regia fecisset naufragium. Lacedæmonios autem male et injuste facere, qui id potius intuerentur, quod ipsorum dominationi, quàm quod universæ Græciæ, utile esset. Quare, si suos legatos recipere vellent, quos

given, to examine into the matter; in the mean time they might keep him as a hostage. He was complied with, and three ambassadors, that had borne the highest offices, were sent to Athens. Themistocles ordered his colleagues to go along with them, and warned them, that they should not dismiss the ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians before he was sent back again. After he thought they were got to Athens, he went to the magistrates and senate of the Lacedæmonians and very frankly declared before them, that the Athenians, by his advice, had enclosed within walls their public gods, their country gods, and household gods, that they might more easily defend them from an enemy, which they might have done by the common law of nations; nor had they done therein what was useless to Greece: For their city was placed as a bulwark against the Barbarians, at which the king's fleet had already twice suffered shipwreck. And that the Lacedæmonians acted ill and unjustly, who more regarded that, which was useful to *promote* their own dominion, than what *was for the*

Athenas miserant, se remitterent; aliter illos nunquam in patriam essent recepturi.

interest of all Greece. Wherefore, if they had a mind to receive their ambassadors again, which they had sent to Athens, they must send him back; otherwise they would never receive them into their country *again*.

CAP. VIII. Hic tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam: Namque ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat Miltiades, testarum suffragiis é civitate ejectus, Argos habitatum concessit. Hic quum, propter multas ejus virtutes, magna cum dignitate viveret, Lacedæmonii legâtos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quòd societatem cum rege Persarum ad Græciam opprimendam fecisset. Hoc crimine absens prodicionis est damnatus. Id ut audivit, quòd non

CHAP. VIII. Yet he did not escape the odium of his countrymen: For being turned out of the city by the (*a*)votes of the shells, from the same jealousy upon which Miltiades had been condemned, he went to (*b*)Argos to dwell. As he lived here in great honour, because of his many excellent qualities, the Lacedæmonians sent ambassadors to Athens, to accuse him in his absence for having made an agreement with the king of the Persians to subdue Greece. Upon this charge he was condemned in his absence for treason. As soon as he heard that, because he saw he *should* not

(*a*) The Athenians, when they became jealous of any of their great men, as dangerous to their public liberty, used to banish them for ten years. The way of voting upon that occasion was, by writing the person's name upon a shell, called in Greek *Ostrakon*, from whence this sort of banishment was called Ostracism.

(*b*) Argos was a city in the north parts of Peloponnesus.

satis tutum se Argis videbat, Corcyram demi-gravit. Ibi cum ejus principes civitatis animadvertisset timere ne propter se bellum his Lacædemonii et Athenienses indicerent, ad Admetum Molossorum regem, cum quo ei hospitium fuerat, confugit. Huc cum venisset, et in præsentia rex abesset, quo majore religione se receptum tueretur, filiam ejus parvulam arripuit, et cum eâ se in sacrarium, quod summâ colebatur ceremoniâ, conjecit: inde non prius egressus est quàm rex eum datâ dextrâ in fidem reciperet: quam præstitit. Nam cùm ab Atheniensibus & Lacædæmoniis exposceretur publicè, supplicem non prodidit; monuitque, ut consuleret sibi: difficile enim esse, in tam propinquo loco, tuto eum versari. Itaque Pydnam eum deduci jussit, & quod satis esset præsi-

be safe enough at Argos, he removed to Corcyra^(a). There, when he observed the great men of that state to be afraid lest the Athenians and Lacædæmonians should proclaim war against them upon his account, he fled to Admetus king of the ^(b)Molossi, with whom he had a friendship. After he was come hither, and the king at that time was absent, that he might secure himself upon his reception with a stronger *obligation of religion*, he took his little daughter, and threw himself with her into a chapel, which was regarded with the utmost veneration. He came not out from thence till the king, giving him his right hand, took him under his protection; which he made good. For when he was publicly demanded by the Athenians and Lacædæmonians, he did not betray his refugee, and warned him to provide for himself, for it would be difficult for him to be safe in so near a place. Wherefore he ordered him to be conducted to Pydna, and gave

(a) Corcyra is an island upon the coast of Epire, now called Corfu.

(b) The Molossi were a people of Epire.

dū dedit : Hāc re audītā, hic navem omnibus ignotus ascendit ; quæ cum tempestate maxima Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eō pervenisset, sibi esse pereundum. Hāc necessitate coactus, domino navis, quis sit, aperit, multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille, clarissimi viri captus misericordiā, diem noctemque procul ab insula in salo navem tenuit in anchoris, neque quenquam ex ea exire passus est; inde Ephesum pervenit, ibique Themistoclem exponit : cui ille pro meritis gratiam postea retulit.

CAP. IX. Scio plerisque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe regnante in Asiam transiisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo, quod ætate proximus erat,

him what guard was sufficient. This thing being heard, he went aboard a ship, unknown to all *there* ; which being driven by a very great storm for (*a*) Naxus, where at that time was an army of the Athenians. Themistocles was sensible if he came there he must perish. Being forced by this necessity, he discovered to the master of the vessel who he was, promising *him* many things, if he would save him. And he, being seized with pity of *this* most famous man, kept his ship day and night a great distance from the island, in the main sea, at anchor, nor did he suffer any body to go out of it. After that he came to (*b*) Ephesus, and there lands Themistocles, to whom he afterwards made a requital according to his desert.

CHAP. IX. I know that most *authors* have written that Themistocles went over into Asia, whilst Xerxes was reigning : But I trust Thucydides above others, because he was in time the nearest to

(*a*) Naxus is an island of the Ægean sea, one of those called Cyclades.

(*b*) Ephesus was a famous city in that part of Asia Minor called Ionia, near the sea.

his, qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerunt, & ejusdem civitatis fuit. Is autem ait, ad Artaxerxem eum venisse, atque his verbis epistolam misisse: *Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, quum mihi necesse fuit adversus patrem tuum bellare, patriamque meam defendere. Idem multo plura bona feci, postquam in tuto ipse, ego & ille in periculo esse cepit. Num quum in Asiam reverti nollet, praelio apud Salamina facto, literis eum certiorum feci, id agi, ut pons quem in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur, atque ab hostibus circumiretur. Quo nuncio ille periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem ad te confugi, exagitatus a cuncta Græcia, tuam petens amicitiam, quam si ero adeptus, non minus me bonum amicum habebis quam fortem ille inimicum expertus est. Ea autem rogo, ut de his rebus, de quibus tecum colloqui volo, annum mihi temporis des, eoque tran-*

to him of those who have left the history of those times, and of the same city. But he says, that he came to Artaxerxes, and sent a letter to him in these words: I Themistocles am come to you, who of all the Greeks brought the most evils upon your family, when it was necessary for me to fight against your father, and defend my country. I the same man did him much more service after I was in safety, and he began to be in danger. For when he intended not to return into Asia, after the battle was fought at Salamis, I made him acquainted by a letter, that it was intended, that the bridge, which he had made over the Hellespont, should be broken down, and he inclosed by his enemies. By which advice he was delivered from danger. But now I have fled to you, being persecuted by all Greece, begging your friendship, which if I shall obtain, you shall find me a no less good friend, than he experienced me to be a gallant enemy. And therefore I beg of you, that you would allow me a year's time for the business, concerning which I desire to talk with you; and after that is past, you would suffer me to wait upon you.

sacto me ad te venire patiaris.

CAP. X. Hujus rex animi magnitudinem admirans, cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari, veniam dedit. Ille omne id tempus literis sermonique Persarum dedit; quibus adeó eruditus est, ut multó commodiùs dicitur apud regem verba fecisse, quam hi poterant, qui in Perside erant nati. Hic quum multa regi esset pollicitus, gratissimumque illud, si suis uti consiliis vellet, illum Græciam bello oppressurum; magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus in Asiam, rediit domiciliumque Magnesiae sibi constituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donârat, his usus verbis: quæ ei panem præberet: ex qua regione quinquaginta ei talenta quotannis redibant: Lampsacum, unde vinum sumeret: Myntem, ex qua obsoni-

CHAP. X. The king admiring the greatness of his mind, and desiring to have such a man gained over effectually to him, granted *him* the favour. He spent all that time in the books and language of the Persians, in which he was so perfectly instructed, that he is said to have spoken before the king much more handsomely than those could, who were born in Persia. After he had promised the king many things, and that *which was* the most agreeable *of all*, that if he would follow his advice, he should conquer Greece by war; being presented with great gifts by Artaxerxes, he returned into Asia, and fixed his habitation at (a) Magnesia. For the king had given him this city, using these words, to furnish him with bread; out of which territory fifty talents came in to him yearly: (b) Lampsacus, from whence he might have his wine: (c) Myus, from whence

(a) Magnesia was a town of Asia Minor, in that part of it called Ionia, near the river Meander.

(b) Lampsacus was a town of Mysia Minor, in Asia Minor, near the Hellespont.

(c) Myus was a town of Ionia, not far from Magnesia.

um haberet. Hujus ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulchrum, prope oppidum, in quo est sepultus: statuæ in foro Magnesiae. De cujus morte multis modis apud plerosque scriptum est. Sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesiae morbo mortuum: neque negat fuisse famam, venenum sua sponte sumpsisse, quum se quæ regi de Græcia opprimenda pollicitus esset, præstare posse desperaret. Idem ossa ejus clam in Attica ab amicis, esse sepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quod prodicionis esset damnatus, memoriæ prodidit.

he might have his *other* provisions. Two monuments of him have continued to our times; his sepulchre nigh the town in which he was buried, his statues in the forum of Magnesia. Concerning whose death an account is given after different manners in most *authors*. But we approve of the same author Thucydides above others, who says, that he died of a disease at Magnesia. Nor does he deny, that there was a report that he took poison voluntarily, because he despaired of being able to perform what he had promised the king about conquering Greece. The same *man* has left upon record, that his bones were privately buried in Attica by his friends, because it was not allowed by the laws, seeing he had been condemned for treason.

III.

ARISTIDES,

Lysimachi filius, Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

ARISTIDES, Lysimachi filius, Atheniensis, æqualis ferè fuit Themistocli. Itaque cum eo de principatu contendit:—namque obtrectârunt inter se In his autem cognitum est quanto antistaret eloquentia innocentia. Quanquam enim adeo excellebat Aristides abstinentiâ, ut unus post hominum memoriâ, quod quidem nos audiverimus, cognomine JUSTUS sit appellatus, tamen à Themistocle collabefactus testulâ illâ, exilio decem annorum mulctatus est. Qui quidem quum intelligeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non posse, cedensque animadvertet quendam scribentem, ut patriâ pelleretur, quæsisse ab eo dicitur, Quare id faceret? aut, Quid

III.

ARISTIDES,

The son of Lysimachus, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, the Athenian, was almost of the same age with Themistocles. Wherefore he contended with him for the superiority: for they endeavoured to lessen one another. And it was visible in them how much eloquence outdoes innocence. For though Aristides did excel so much in justice, that he alone, since the first accounts of mankind that we indeed have heard of, was called by surname the JUST: yet, being overborne by Themistocles by that shell, he was punished with the banishment of ten years. Who truly, when he found that the incensed people could not be restrained, and going off, observed one writing, that he should be banished his country, is said to have enquired of him, Why he did it? or, What Aristides had done, for which he should be thought

Aristides commisisset, cur tantâ pœnâ dignus duceretur? Cui ille respondit, Se ignorare Aristidem, sed sibi non placere, quod tam cupidè elaborâset, ut præter cæteros JUSTUS appelleretur. Hic decem annorum legitimam pœnam non pertulit. Nam postquam Xerxes in Græciam descendit, sexto ferè anno postquam erat expulsus, plebiscito in patriam restitutus est.

CAP. II. Interfuit autem pugna navali apud Salamina, quæ facta est priusquam pœnâ liberaretur. Idem prætor fuit Atheniensium apud Plataas, in prælio quo Mardonius fusus, barbarorumque exercitus est interfectus. Neque aliud est ullum hujus in re militari illustre factum, quàm hujus imperii memoria: Justitiæ vero, & æquitatis, & innocentiae multa. Imprimis, quod ejus æquitatem factum est, cum in communi classe esset Græciæ simul cum Pausaniâ, quo duce Mardonius erat fugatus, ut summa imperii maritimi ab Lacedæmoniis

worthy of so great a punishment? To whom he replied, that he did not know Aristides, but that it did not please him that he had laboured so earnestly to be called JUST above other people. He did not suffer the legal punishment of ten years. For after Xerxes came into Greece, about the sixth year after he had been banished, he was restored to his country by a decree of the people.

CHAP. II. He was present too at the sea-fight at Salamis, which was fought before he was released from his punishment. The same *man* was commander of the Athenians at Plataea, in the battle in which Mardonius was routed, and the army of the Barbarians cut off: Nor is there any other illustrious action of his in military affairs, besides the account of this command: But there are a great many *instances* of his justice, equity, and innocence. In the first place, that it was brought about by his justice, when he was in the common fleet of Greece, together with Pausanias, by which general Mardonius had been routed, that the chief command at sea was

transferretur ad Athenienses. Namque ante id tempus, & mari & terrâ duces erant Lacedæmodii. Tum autem & in-nemperantiâ Pausaniæ, & justitiâ factum est Aristidis, ut omnes ferè civitates Græciæ ad Atheniensium societatem se applicarent, et adversus barbaros, hos duces deligerent sibi, quo faciliùs repellerent, si fortè bellum renovare conarentur.

CAP. III. Ad classes ædificandas exercitusque comparandos, quantum pecuniæ quæque civitas daret, Aristides delectus est, qui constitueret. Ejus arbitrio quadringenta & sexaginta talenta quotannis Delum sunt collata. Id enim commune ærarium esse voluerunt. Quæ omnis pecunia postero tempore Athenas translata est. Hic quâ fuerit abstinentiâ, nullum est certius indicium, quàm quod, cum tantis rebus præfu-

transferred from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians: For before that time the Lacedæmonians were commanders both by sea and land; but then it came to pass through the unjust behaviour of Pausanias, and the justice of Aristides, that almost all the cities of Greece applied themselves to the alliance of the Athenians, and chose them for their leaders against the Barbarians, that they might the more easily repulse them, if perhaps they should endeavour to renew the war.

CHAP. III. Aristides was pitched upon to appoint how much money every city should furnish for the building of fleets and the raising of armies. By his order four hundred and sixty talents were carried to (a) Delus every year; for they ordained that to be the common treasury. All which money, sometime after, was removed to Athens. Of how great justice he was, there is no more certain proof, than that though he had commanded in such great affairs, he died in so great poverty, that he scarce-

(a) Delus is an island of the Ægean sea, one of the Cyclades, formerly very famous for an oracle of Apollo.

isset, in tantâ paupertate decessit, ut, qui effertur, vix reliquerit. Quo factum est, ut filiæ ejus publice alerentur, & de communi ærario, dotibus datis, collocarentur. Decessit autem fere post annum quartum quàm Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus.

ly left wherewith he might be buried. Whence it came to pass that his daughters were maintained at the public charge, and were disposed of in marriage, their fortunes being paid out of the common treasury. He died about the fourth year after Themistocles was banished Athens.

IV.

PAUSANIAS,
Lacedæmonius.

CAP. I.

PAUSANIAS magnus homo, sed varius in omni genere vitæ fuit. Nam ut virtutibus eluxit, sic vitiis est obrutus. Hujus illustrissimum est prælium apud Platæas. Namque illo duce Mardonius, satrapes regius, natione Medus, ea regis

IV.

PAUSANIAS,
The Lacedæmonian.

CHAP. I.

PAUSANIAS was a great man, but inconstant in every way of life. For as he was illustrious for his excellent qualities, so was he over-run with vices. His most famous battle is *that* at Platæa. For he was commander *there when* Mardonius the king's (a) lord deputy, by nation a

(a) *Satrapes* was a name among the Persians for the governors of the provinces of that empire.

ner, in primis omnium Persarum, & manu fortis & consilii plenus, cum ducentis millibus peditum, quos viritim legerat, & viginti millibus equitum, haud ita magnâ manu Græciâ fugatus est: eoque ipse dux cecidit prælio. Quâ victoriâ elatus plurima miscere cœpit, & majora concupiscere. Sed primùm in eo est reprehensus, quod ex præda tripodem aureum Delphis posuisset, epigrammate scripto, in quo erat hæc sententia: *Suo ductu barbaros apud Plateas esse deletos, ejusque victoriæ ergo Apollini donum dedisse.* Hos verus Lacedæmonii exscalpserunt, neque aliud scripserunt, quam nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Persæ erant victi.

CAP. II. Post id prælium, eundem Pausaniam cum classe communi Cyprum atque Helles-

Mede, the king's son-in-law, amongst the chief of all the Persians, both brave in action and full of good sense, was driven out of Greece with two hundred thousand foot, which he had chosen out man by man, and twenty thousand horse, by an army not near so big; and the general himself fell in that battle. With which victory being elated, he began to make great confusion, and to aim at things above him. But he was first of all blamed for this, that he had dedicated a golden Tripod at Delphos, of the spoil, with an inscription written upon it, in which was this sentence; *That the Barbarians, by his conduct had been cut off at Platea, and that he had made this present to Apollo, upon the account of that victory.* The Lacedæmonians erased these lines, nor, did they write any thing else, but the names of those cities, by whose assistance the Persians had been conquered.

CHAP. II. After that battle, they sent the same Pausanias with the common fleet to (a)Cyprus and the Helles-

(a) Cyprus is a famous island in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean.

pontum miserunt, ut ex his regionibus barbarorum præsidia depelleret. Pari felicitate in eâ re usus, elatiùs se gerere cœpit, majoresque appetere res. Nam quum Byzantio expugnato cepisset complures Persarum nobiles, atque in his nonnullos regis propinquos: hos clam Xerxi remisit, simulans ex vinculis publicis effugisse: & cum his Gongylum Eretriensem, qui literas regi redderet, in quibus hæc fuisse scripta Thucydides memoriæ prodidit: *Pausanias dux Sparte, quos Byzantii ceperat postquam propinquos tuos cognovit, tibi muneri misit, seque tecum affinitate conjungi cupit. Quare, si tibi videtur, des ei filiam tuam nuptum. Id si feceris, & Spartam & ceteram Græciam sub tuam potestatem, te adjuvante, se redacturum pollicetur.*

pont, to drive the garrisons of the Barbarians out of those parts. And having the same good fortune in that affair, he began to behave himself more haughtily, and to aim at greater matters. For when after the carrying of (a)Byzantium he had taken many noble men of the Persians, and amongst them some of the king's relations, he privately sent those to Xerxes, pretending that they had escaped out of the public custody, and with them Gongylus the Eretrian, to carry a letter to the king, in which, Thucydides writes, these things were written: *Pausanias, general of Sparta, after he understood that those, whom he took at Byzantium, were your relations, has sent them to you as a present, and desires to be joined in affinity with you. Wherefore if it seem good to you, give him your daughter in marriage. If you do that, he promises that, with your assisting him, he will reduce both Sparta,*

(a) Byzantium, a town upon the Thracian Bosphorus, at the mouth of the Euxine, now called the Black Sea. It was much enlarged and beautified by the Roman emperor Constantine the Great, and from him called Constantinople. Its name is now Stamboul, being the metropolis of the Turkish empire.

His de rebus si quid geri volueris, certum hominem ad eum mittas face, cum quo colloquatur. Rex tot hominum salute, tam sibi necessariorum, magnopere gavisus, confestim cum epistolâ Artabazum ad Pausaniam mittit, in quâ eum collaudat, ac petit, ne cui rei parcat ad ea perficienda, quæ pollicetur: si fecerit, nullius rei à se repulsam laturum. Hujus Pausanias voluntate cognitâ alacrior ad rem gerendam factus, in suspicionem cecidit Lacedæmoniorum. In quo facto domum revocatus, accusatus capitibus absolvitur: mulctatur tamen pecuniâ. Quam ob causam ad classem remissus non est.

CAP. III. At ille post non multó, suâ sponte ad exercitum rediit; & ibi non callidâ sed dementi ratione cogitata patefecit. Non enim mores patrios solùm, sed etiam cultum vestitumque mutavit. Appa-

and the rest of Greece, under your power. If you would have any of these things done, see you send a trusty person to him, with whom he may confer about the matter. The king, rejoicing mightily at the security of so many persons so nearly allied to him, immediately dispatches Artabazus with a letter to Pausanias, in which he commends him, and desires he would not spare any thing to effect the matter, which he promised: if he did it, he should have a refusal of nothing from him. Pausanias having understood his mind, being rendered more forward for the management of the affair, fell under the suspicion of the Lacedæmonians. *In the middle of which transaction, being recalled home, and accused of this capital crime, he is acquitted; yet is fined a sum of money: for which reason he was not sent back to the fleet.*

CHAP. III. But he, not long after, returned to the army of his own accord, and there discovered his intentions, not after a cunning, but a mad manner. For he not only laid aside his country manners, but even its furniture and dress. He had the

ratu regio utebatur, veste Medica: satellites Medi & Egyptii sequebantur: epulabatur more Persarum luxuriosius, quàm qui aderant, perpeti possent. Aditum petentibus conveniendi non dabat: superbè respondebat, & crudeliter imperabat. Spartam redire nolebat. Colonas, qui locus in agro Troade est, se contulerat: ibi consilia cum patriæ tum sibi, inimica capiebat. Id postquam Lacedæmonii resciverunt, legatos ad eum cum scytalâ miserunt, in quâ more illorum erat scriptum, nisi domum reverteretur, se capitis eum damnaturos. Hoc

equipage of a king, the Median robe: Median and Egyptian guards attended him: he feasted after the manner of the Persians, more luxuriously than they that were with him could endure: he did not grant access to those that desired to wait upon him: he answered proudly, and commanded cruelly: he would not return to Sparta: he retired to Colonæ, which place is in the territory of (a) Troas, where he formed designs of pernicious tendency, both to his country and himself. After the Lacedæmonians understood it, they sent messengers to him with a (b) scytala, in which was written, after their fashion, unless he returned home, that they would condemn him to

(a) Troas was a country of Asia Minor, so called from the city of Troy that was in it; it lay along the Hellespont.

(b) This scytala was a white roll of parchment wrapped about a black stick, about nine cubits long. It was used thus: when the magistrates gave commission to any, as general or admiral, they took two round pieces of wood, of the same size exactly; one of those they kept, the other was given to the commander, to whom as often as they had occasion to send any private dispatches, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling about their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business upon it; then, taking it off, sent it away to the commander, who applying it to his own staff, the folds exactly fell in with one another, at the writing; and the characters, which, before it was wrapped up, were confusedly disjoined and unintelligible, appeared very plain.

nuncio motus, sperans se etiam pecuniâ et potentiâ instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab ephoris in vincula publica conjectus est. Licet enim cuivis ephoro legibus eorum hoc facere regi. Hinc tamen se expedit: neque eo magis carebat suspicione; nam opinio manebat, eum cum rege habere societatem. Est genus quoddam hominum, quod Helotes vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedæmoniorum colit, servorumque munere fungitur. Hos quoque sollicitare spe libertatis existimabatur. Sed quod harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen, quo argui posset, non putabant de tali tamque claro viro suspicionibus oportere judicari: sed expectandum dum se ipsa res aperiret.

die. Being startled at this message, hoping that he might keep off the danger that threatened him, by his money and power, he returned home. As soon as he came here, he was clapped into public custody by the Ephori; for by their laws it is allowable for any Ephorus to do this to a king. Yet he got himself out hence. Nor yet was he more free from suspicion; for this opinion of him continued; that he had an agreement with the (a) king of Persia. There is a certain kind of men which is called Helots of which a great number till the lands of the Lacedæmonians, and perform the office of slaves. He was supposed to solicit these to join him, with the hopes of liberty; but because there was no charge against him, as to these things, well made out, upon which he might be convicted, they did not think it reasonable to pass sentence upon so great and so famous a man, upon suspicions; but that they ought to stay till the matter discovered itself.

(a) Our author here imitates the Greek authors, who used to call the King of Persia simply or by way of eminence, *The King*, sometimes *The Great King*.

CAP. IV. Interim Argilius quidam adolescens, quem puerum Pausanias amore venero dilexerat, quum epistolam ab eo ad Artabazum accepisset, eique in suspicionem venisset, aliquid in eâ de se esse scriptum, quòd nemo eorum rediisset, qui super tali causâ eodem missi erant; vincula epistolæ laxavit, signaque detracto, cognovit, si pertulisset, sibi esse pereundum. Erant in eadem epistolâ, quæ ad ea pertinebant, quæ inter regem Pausaniam que conveniant. Has ille literas ephoris tradidit. Non est prætereunda gravitas Lacedæmoniorum hoc loco. Nam ne hujus quidem indicio impulsus sunt, ut Pausaniam comprehenderent: neque prius vim adhibendam putaverunt, quàm se ip-

CHAP. IV. In the meantime one Argilius, a young man, whom *when* a boy Pausanias had loved with a venereal passion, having received a letter from him to Artabazus; and it coming into his fancy, that there was something written in it about himself, because none of those had come back again, who had been sent to the same place upon such an occasion; he loosed (a) the string of the epistle, and taking off the seal, he understood if he carried it, he was to perish. There was in the same epistle, what appertained to those things which had been agreed on betwixt the king and Pausanias. He delivered this letter to the Ephori. The (b) steadiness of the Lacedæmonians upon this occasion is not to be passed by. For they were not wrought upon even by this information, to seize Pausanias; nor did they think any force was to be used a-

(a) The way of writing letters was anciently upon wooden tablets covered with wax; these they used to put together, and tie with a thread, the knot of which had a seal upon it.

(b) *Gravis* properly signifies heavy. And as things that are heavy are not easily moved, thence it was figuratively applied to such as are not apt to alter their purposes, or form resolutions, but upon weighty considerations; and agreeably to this sense of *gravis* is *gravitas* here used.

se indicasset. Itaque huic indici, quid fieri vellent, præceperunt. Fanum Neptuni est Tænari, quod violare nefas putant Græci: eò ille index confugit: in arâ con-sedit: hanc juxta, locum fecerunt sub terrâ, ex quo posset audiri, si quis quid loqueretur cum Argilio. Huc ex ephoris quidam descenderunt. Pausanias, ut audivit Argilium confugisse in a-ram, perturbatus eò ve-nit. Quem cum suppli-cem dei videret in arâ sedentem, quærit causæ quid sit tam repentini consilii. Huic ille, quid ex literis comperisset, aperit. Tanto magis Pausanias perturbatus orare cœpit, *ne enuncia-ret, nec se, meritum de illo optimè, proderet. Quod si eam veniam sibi dedisset, tantisque impli-citum rebus sublevâsset, magno esse ei præmio fu-turum.*

gainst him, before he disco-vered himself. Wherefore they ordered the informer what they would have done. There is a temple of Nep-tune at Tænarus, which the Greeks account it a most heinous crime to profane. Thither the informer fled, and sat upon the altar. Nigh this they made a place under ground, from whence if any one talked any thing with Argilius, it might be over-heard. Some of the Ephori went down into it. Pausanias, as soon as he heard that Ar-gilius was fled to the altar, came thither in great disor-der. Whom when he saw sitting upon the altar as a suppliant to the god, he asks what the reason was of this sudden resolution. He tells him what he had discovered from the letter. Pausanias, being so much the more con-founded, began to beg, *that he would not discover it, nor betray him, that had deserved very well from him; and that if he would but grant him that favour, and would re-lieve him now entangled in such mighty difficulties, he should have a considerable re-ward for it.*

CAP. V. His rebus e-phori cognitis, satius pu-

CHAP. V. The Ephori, having understood these

taverunt in urbe eum comprehendi; quò cùm essent profecti, & Pausanias, placato Argilio, ut putabat) Lacedæmonem reverteretur, in itinere, quum jam in eo esset, ut comprehenderetur, è vultu cujusdam ephori, qui eum admonere cupiebat, insidias sibi fieri intellexit. Itaque paucis antè gradibus, quàm qui sequebantur, in ædem Minervæ, quæ Chalciæcus vocatur, confugit. Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas ejus ædis obstruxerunt, tectumque sunt demoliti, quò facilis sub dio interiret. Dicitur eo tempore matrem Pausaniæ vixisse; eamque jam magno natu, postquam de scelere filii comperit, in primis ad fi-

things, thought it better to have him seized in the city. Whither as they were going, and Pausanias having pacified Argilius, as he thought, was returning to Lacedæmon: in the way, when he was now upon the point of being seized, he understood by the look of a certain Ephorus, who desired to acquaint him, that there was a design upon him: Wherefore he fled into the temple of Minerva, which is called Chalciæcus, a few steps before those that followed him. That he might not get out hence, the Ephori blocked up the folding doors of the temple, and took off the roof, (a) that he might die the more easily in the open air. It is said that the (a) mother of Pausanias was living at that time: and that she, being now of a great age, after she had been in-

(a) This reason of our author's seems trifling, and therefore I am apt to think is not the true one: There was, I fancy, some point of superstition in the case.

(b) This behaviour of a mother to a son will appear almost incredible to such as are unacquainted with the temper and spirit of the Lacedæmonians, which was very singular; but if that be considered, there was nothing strange or extraordinary in the matter. It was customary with the mothers, when their sons went to the war, to deliver them their shield with these words, "*Either bring this back, or be brought upon it;*" as much as to say, Lose your life rather than this. Nay, there are authors who tell us, that upon news of the

lium claudendum, lapidem ad introitum ædis attulisse. Sic Pausanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte maculavit. Hic cum semianimis de templo elatus esset, confestim animum efflavit. Cujus mortui corpus cum eodem nonnulli dicerent inferri oportere, quò hi qui ad supplicium essent dati; displicuit pluribus; & procul ab eo loco infoderunt, in quo erat mortuus. Inde posterius, dei Delphici responso erutus, atque eodem loco sepultus, ubi vitam finierat.

formed of the wickedness of her son, brought, amongst the foremost, a stone to the entrance of the temple, to shut up her son. Thus Pausanias sullied the great glory *he had gotten* in the war, by a shameful death. After he had been brought half dead out of the temple, he immediately breathed out his soul. The body of whom being dead, when some said it ought to be carried into the same place whither they *were carried*, who were delivered up to *capital* punishment, it displeased many; and they buried him a great way from that place in which he died. He was afterwards taken up, upon an answer of the Delphian oracle, and buried in the place where he had ended his life.

defeat of a Lacedæmonian army, it was usual for the relations of the slain to meet with all the signs of joy, congratulating one another; whilst the relations of such as had saved themselves by running away, appeared with dejected, melancholy looks, or durst not shew their heads at all for shame.

V.

CIMON,

Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

CIMON, Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis, duro admodum initio usus est adolescentiæ. Nam cum pater ejus litem æstimatam populo solvere non potuisset, ob eamque causam in vinculis publicis decessisset; Cimon eâdem custodiâ tenebatur, neque legibus Atheniensium emitti poterat, nisi pecuniam, quâ pater mulctatus esset, solvisset. Habebat autem in matrimonio sororem suam germanam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quàm patrio more ductus: nam Atheniensibus licet, eodem patre natas, uxores ducere. Hujus conjugii cupidus Callias quidam, nontam generosus quam pecuniosus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat, egit cum Cimone, ut eam sibi uxorem

V.

CIMON,

The son of Miltiades, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

CIMON the son of Miltiades the Athenian, had *but* a hard entrance upon his state of manhood. For whereas his father was not able to pay the people his fine, and for that reason died in the public gaol; Cimon was confined in the same custody, nor could he be discharged by the laws of the Athenians, unless he paid the sum his father had been fined. He had in marriage his own sister, by name Elpinice, not more induced *to it* by love than the fashion of his country: for it is lawful for the Athenians to marry those *that* are born of the same father. One Callias being desirous of this match, not so much a gentleman as a moneyed *man*, who had got a great estate by the mines, dealt with Cimon, to give him her to wife, *promising* if he obtained that of *him*, that he would pay the money for him. When he rejected the

daret: id si impetrâset, se pro illo pecuniam soluturum. Is cum talem conditionem aspernaretur, Elpinice negavit se passuram Miltiadis progeniem in vinculis publicis interire; quoniamque prohibere posset, se Calliæ nupturam, si ea, quæ polliceretur, præstîtisset.

CAP. II. Tali modo custodiâ liberatus Cimon, celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiæ, summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cum juris civilis, tum rei militaris, quod cum patre à puero in exercitu fuerat versatus. Itaque hic & populum urbanum in suâ tenuit potestate, & apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate. Primum imperator apud flumen Strymona magnas copias Thracum fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim constituit, eoque decem

offer, Elpinice denied that she would suffer the son of Miltiades to die in the public gaol; and since she could hinder it, that she would marry Callias, if he would perform the things which he promised.

CHAP. II. Cimon being delivered out of custody in this manner, quickly came to the greatest eminence. For he had eloquence enough, the utmost generosity, great skill as well in the civil law as military affairs, because he had been with his father in the army from a child. Wherefore he both kept the people of the town at his command, and swayed much by his authority with the army. In the first place, being commander of the *Athenian forces*, he routed a great body of the Thracians at the river (a) Strymon, built the town of (b) Amphipolis, and sent ten thousand Athenians as a

(a) Strymon was a river of Macedonia, nigh the borders of Thrace.

(b) Amphipolis was built in an island of the river Strymon, from whence it had its name.

millia Atheniensium in coloniam misit. Idem iterum apud Mycalen Cyprianorum & Phœnicum ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit; eodemque die pari fortunâ in terrâ usus est. Namque hostium navibus captis, statim ex classe copias suas eduxit, barbarorumque uno concursu maximam vim prostravit. Quâ victoriâ magnâ prædâ potitus, cum domum reverteretur, quod jam nonnullæ insulæ propter acerbitem imperii defecerant, bene animatas confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coegit. Scyrum, quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant, quod contumaciùs se gesserat, vacuefecit: possessores veteres urbe insulâque ejecit; agros civibus di-

colony thither. The same man again at (v) Mycale, took a fleet of two hundred ships of the Cyprians and (b) Phœnicians, *which he* conquered; and the same day had the like good fortune by land. For after he had taken the enemy's ships, he immediately drew his forces out of the fleet, *and* at one push overthrew a mighty army of the Barbarians. In which victory getting a great deal of plunder, as he was returning home, because now some islands had revolted, by reason of the rigor of the Athenian government, he fixed the well affected, and the revolters he obliged to return to their duty. He swept (c). Scyrus of its people, which at that time the (d) Dolopes inhabited, because it had behaved itself obstinately; turned the old inhabitants out of the city and island; divided the lands amongst his citiizens. He

(a) Mycale was a promontory of Ionia, not far from Ephesus.

(b) The Phœnicians were a people of Asia upon the coast of the Mediterranean, eastward from Cyprus, famous for their skill in sea affairs, and the great traffic they carried on up and down the Mediterranean.

(c) Scyrus is an island of the Ægean sea, a little above Eubœa.

(d) The Dolopes were a people of Thessaly.

visit. Thasios, opulentia fretos, suo adventu fregit. His ex manubiis arx Athenarum, quâ ad meridiem vergit, est ornata.

CAP. III. Quibus rebus cum unus in civitate maximè floreret, incidit in eandem invidiam, quam pater suus, ceterique Atheniensium principes. Nam testarum suffragiis, quod illi *ostracismus* vocant, decem annorum exilio mulctatus est. Cujus facti celebrius Athenienses, quam ipsum pœnituit. Nam cum ille, forti animo, invidiæ ingratorum civium cessisset, bellumque Lacedæmonii Atheniensibus indixissent; confestim notæ ejus virtutis desiderium consecutum est. Itaque post annum quintum, quo expulsus erat, in patriam revocatus est. Ille, quod hospitio Lacedæmoniorum utebatur, satius existi-

reduced the (a) Thasians, elated with their great wealth, upon his arrival amongst them. Out of these spoils the citadel of Athens was beautified, where it looks to the south.

CHAP. III. By which means as he made the greatest figure in the city, he fell under the same odium which his father, and the rest of the great men of the Athenians, had done. For he was punished with the banishment of ten years, by the votes of the shells, which they call Ostracism. Which action the Athenians were sooner sorry for, than himself. For after he had given way to the hatred of his ungrateful countrymen with a gallant mind, and the Lacedæmonians had proclaimed war against the Athenians, immediately a great miss of his known bravery and conduct followed. Wherefore he was recalled into his country, five years after his banishment. He, because he had a great (b) friendship for the Lacedæ-

(a) Thasus in an island of the Ægean sea, nigh the coast of Thrace

(b) *Hospitium* properly signifies lodging or entertainment, but is likewise used for friendship. For in the more early ages of the world, before the convenience of public inns was thought of, persons that travelled lodged in private houses, and were obliged to return

mans, eos & cives suos inter se unâ voluntate consentire, quàm armis contendere, Lacedæmonem suâ sponte est profectus, pacemque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit. Pòst neque ita multò in Cyprum cum ducentis navibus, imperator missus, cum ejus majorem partem insulæ devicisset, in morbum implicitus, in oppido Citio est mortuus.

CAP. IV. Hunc Athenienses non solùm in bello, sed in pace diu desideraverunt. Fuit enim tantâ liberalitate, cum compluribus locis prædia hortosque haberet, ut nunquam eis custodem posuerit, fructus servandi gratiâ, ne quis impediretur, quò minùs ejus rebus, quibus vellet, frueretur. Semper eum pedissequi cum nummis sunt secuti, ut si quis opis ejus indigeret, haberet, quod statim da-

monians, thinking it better that they and his countrymen should agree betwixt themselves in the same mind, than contend together with arms, went to Lacedæmon of his own accord, and made a peace betwixt those two most powerful states. And not long after, being sent admiral into Cyprus with two hundred ships, after he had conquered the greatest part of that island, falling into a distemper, he died in the town of Citium.

CHAP. IV. The Athenians had a miss of him a long time, not only in war, but in peace. For he was a *man* of so great generosity, that having estates and gardens in several places, he never placed a keeper, upon account of preserving the fruit, lest any should be hindered from enjoying his things as he pleased. Footmen always followed him with money, that if any one stood in need of his assistance, he might have to give him immediately, lest he should seem to deny him,

the favour to those that entertained them, if need required. This was the occasion of the most intimate friendship betwixt the parties, insomuch that they treated one another as relations. Thence the word *hospitium* came to signify friendship founded upon that bottom.

ret, ne differendo videretur negare. Sæpe, cum aliquem offensum fortunâ videret minùs bene vestitum, suum amiculum dedit. Quotidie sic cæna ei coquebatur, ut quos invocatos vidisset in foro omnes devocaret: quod facere nullum diem prætermittebat. Nulli fides ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit: multos locupletavit. Complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde efferentur non reliquissent, suo sumptu extulit. Sic se gerendo minimè est mirandum, si & vita ejus fuit secure, & mors acerba.

by putting him off. Oftentimes when he saw any one (a) ill handled by fortune, less handsomely clad, he gave him his own coat. His supper was so dressed for him every day, that he invited all whom he saw in the Forum, not invited *elsewhere*; which he omitted to do no day. His faithfulness was wanting to none, *his* service to none, *his* estate to none: He enriched many. He buried at his own charge many poor people *when* dead, who had not left wherewith they might be buried. It is not to be wondered at, if upon behaving himself thus, both his life was secure, and his death afflicting.

VI.

LYSANDER,
Lacedæmonius.

CAP. I.

LYSANDER Lacedæmonius magnam reliquit sui famam, magis felicitate, quàm vir-

VI.

LYSANDER,
The Lacedæmonian.

CHAP. I.

LYSANDER the Lacedæmonian left a great name, got more by his good fortune than his good behaviour. For it is

(a) I am afraid the Latin text is corrupted here, *Offensus Fortuna* being in my opinion, no very intelligible expression.

te, partam. Athenienses enim in Peloponnesios sexto & vigesimo anno bellum gerentes confecisse apparet. Id quâ ratione confectus sit, latet. Non enim virtute sui exercitus, sed immodestiâ factum est adversariorum, qui quod dicto audientes imperatoribus suis non erant, dispalati in agris, relictis navibus, in hostium venerunt potestatem. Quo facto Athenienses se Lacedæmoniis dediderunt. Hâc victoriâ Lysander elatus, cum antea semper factiosus, audaxque fuisset, sic sibi indulisit, ut ejus operâ in maximum odium Græciæ Lacedæmonii pervenerint. Nam cum hanc causam Lacedæmonii distitâssent sibi esse belli, ut Atheniensium impotentem dominationem refringerent: postquam apud Ægos flumen Lysander classis

apparent, that he conquered the Athenians, carrying on a war against the Peloponnesians, in the six-and-twentieth year thereof. But how he effected that is but little known: For it was not brought about by the valour of his army, but by the ill discipline of his enemies; who, because they were not obedient to their commanders, being dispersed in the country, having left their ships, came under the power of their enemies; upon which the Athenians submitted themselves to the Lacedæmonians. Lysander being elated with this victory, having been before always a factious and bold *man*, gave himself so much liberty, that by his means the Lacedæmonians came under a very great odium of Greece. For whereas the Lacedæmonians had said, that their reason for the war was this, that they might curb the (a) outrageous tyranny of the Athenians; after he made himself master of the enemy's fleet

(a) *Impotens* signifies *weak* or *wanting power* properly, yet is oftentimes applied to persons in the greatest power, as kings and princes; but then they are considered as under the influence and command of their passions, and wanting power to govern themselves, and keep within bounds; thence it signifies *extravagant, proud, intolerable*, as here.

gestis apud maximum magistratum, quæ voluerat, dixerat, testimonii loco librum à Pharnabazo datum tradidit. Hunc, summoto Lysandro, cum Ephori cognõssent, ipsi legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens ipse suus fuit accusator.

After this, when Lysander was come home, after he had said what he had a mind before the chief magistrate, concerning his exploits, he delivered the letter given him by Pharnabazus, by way of testimonial. Lysander being ordered to withdraw, when the Ephori had looked it over, they gave it him to read ; so he was unawares his own accuser.

VII.

ALCIBIADES,

Cliniæ filius, Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

ALCIBIADES, Cliniaæ filius, Atheniensis : in hoc natura quid efficere possit, videtur experta. Constat enim inter omnes, qui de eo memoriæ prodiderunt, nihil illo fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus. Natus in amplissimâ civitate, summo genere, omnium ætatis suæ multo formosissimus : ad omnes res aptus, consiliique plenus. Namque imperator fuit summus mari et terrâ :

VII.

ALCIBIADES,

The son of Clinias, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

ALCIBIADES, the son of Clinias, the Athenian : Nature seems to have tried in him what she could do. For it is agreed upon, amongst all who have written about him, that nobody was more extraordinary than he, either in vices or in virtues. Being born in a very great city, of a great family, much the handsomest man of all his time : fit for all things, and abounding in sense for the management of affairs. For he was a very great commander, both by sea and land ; so

disertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret: et tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei dicendo posset resistere. Idem, cum tempus posceret, laboriosus, patiens, liberalis, splendidus, non minùs, in vitâ quam victu: affabilis, blandus, temporibus calidissimè inserviens. Idem, simul ac se remiserat, nec causa suberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus, intemperans reperiebatur: ut omnes admirarentur, in uno homine tantam inesse dissimilitudinem, tamque diversam naturam.

CAP. II. Educatus est in domo Periclis, privignus enim ejus fuisse dicitur, eruditus à Socrate. Socerum habuit Hipponicum, omnium Græcæ linguæ eloquentiâ disertissimum: ut si ipse fingere vellet, neque plura bona reminisci, neque majora posset consequi,

eloquent, that he mightily prevailed in speaking: And such was the plausibleness of his elocution and language, that in haranguing, nobody was able to stand before him. The same man, when occasion required, *was* laborious, hardy, generous, splendid, no less in *his* equipage, than *his* diet: affable, fawning, very cunningly serving the times. The same *man*, when he had unbent himself, and there was no reason why he should take upon him any labour of thought, was found to be luxurious, dissolute, lustful, and intemperate; insomuch that all admired, that in the same man there should be so much unlikeness to *himself*, and so different a nature.

CHAP. II. He was educated in the house of Pericles, (for he is said to have been his step son) instructed by (*a*) Socrates. He had for his father-in-law Hipponicus, of all men the ablest in the eloquence of the Greek language; that if he would have contrived *for himself*, he could neither have thought

a This *Socrates* was the greatest man amongst the ancients: Such a complete master of his passions, that one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall a good man, a scolding wife, was not able to discompose or put him out of temper in the least.

quàm vel fortuna vel natura tribuerat. Ineunte adolescentiâ, amatus est, à multis, more Græcorum; in eis à Socrate, de quo mentionem facit Plato in Symposio: namque eum induxit commemorantem se pernoctâsse cum Socrate, neque aliter ab eo surrexisse, ac filius à parente debuerit. Postea quam robustior est factus, non minus multos amavit, in quorum amore, quoad licitum est, odiosa multa delicatè jocosèque fecit: quæ referremus, nisi majora potioraque haberemus.

CAP. III. Bello Peloponnesiaco, hujus consilio atque auctoritate Athenienses bellum Syracusanis indixerunt: ad quod gerendum ipse dux delectus est. Duo præterea collegæ dati, Nicias et Lamachus. Id cum appareretur, priusquam

of more *advantages*, nor have compassed greater, than either fortune or nature had bestowed *upon him*. In the entrance upon his manhood he was beloved by many, after the fashion of the Greeks: and amongst them by Socrates, of whom Plato makes mention in his Symposium: For he has brought him in relating, that he lay all night with Socrates, and rose from him no otherwise than a son ought to do from his father. After he was grown more a man, he loved as many, in the love of whom, so far as it was allowable *by the laws*, he did many odious things wantonly and jocosely; which we should relate, but that we have greater and better *things to relate of him*.

CHAP. III. *In the Peloponnesian war*, (a) by his advice and persuasion, the Athenians proclaimed war against the (b) Syracusians; for the management of which he was chosen general. Two col-

(a) This Peloponnesian war was so called, because all the states of Peloponnesus joined in it, under the command of the Lacedæmonians, against the Athenians. It began in the year before Christ 430, and ended in the taking of Athens, after the battle of the river Ægos, mentioned above, in the year before Christ 403.

(b) Syracuse is still a noted city on the eastern coast of the Isle of Sicily.

classis exiret, accidit, ut unâ nocte omnes Hermæ, qui in oppido erant Athenis, dejicerentur, præter unum, qui ante, januam Andocidis erat Andocidisque Hermes vocatus est. Hoc cum appareret, non sine magnâ multorum consensione esse factum, quod non ad privatam, sed ad publicam rem pertineret, magnus multitudinî timor est injectus, ne qua repentina vis in civitate existeret, quæ libertatem opprimeret populi. Hoc maximè convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur, quod et potentior et major, quàm privatus existimabatur. Multos enim liberalitate devinxerat; plures etiam, operâ forensi suos reddiderat. Quâ re fiebat, ut omnium oculos, quotiescunque in publicum prodisset, ad se converteret, neque ei par quisquam in civitate poneretur. Itaque non solum in eo spem habebant maximam, sed etiam timo-

leagues besides were given him, Nicias and Lamachus. Whilst that *expedition* was preparing for, before the fleet went out, it happened, that in one night all the (a) Mercuries which were in the town of Athens, were thrown down, except one, which was before the door of Andocides, and was called the Mercury of Andocides. As it appeared, this was not done without a strong confederacy of many, because it did not appertain to a private, but a public concern, a mighty terror fell upon the people, lest a sudden violence should break out in the city, that should bear down the liberty of the people. This seemed chiefly to agree to Alcibiades, because he was thought both more powerful and greater than a private person: For he had obliged many by his generosity, and rendered more his friends, by his serving them in their law concerns. By which means it came to pass, that he turned the eyes of all the people upon him, as oft as he went abroad; nor was any one

(a) Mercury was reckoned the God of Thieves, and therefore they used to erect his statutes before their doors, by way of prevention, against the attempts of robbers and house-breakers.

rem, quòd et obesse plurimùm et prodesse poterat. Aspergebatur etiam infamià, quòd in domo suâ facere mysteria dicebatur, quod nefas erat more Atheniensium; idque non ad religionem, sed ad conjurationem pertinere existimabatur.

counted equal to him in the *whole city*. Wherefore they not only had great hopes in him, but *a great apprehension of him* too, because he was able both to do them a great deal of mischief, and *a great deal* of service. He was likewise bespattered with infamy, because it was said, that he celebrated the (a) mysteries in his own house, which was a heinous crime, according to the usage of the Athenians; and that was supposed not to concern religion *so much as to be an argument of a conspiracy*.

CAP. IV. Hoc crimine in concione ab inimicis compellabatur. Sed instabat tempus ad bellum proficiscendi. Id ille intuens, neque ignorans civium suorum consuetudinem, postulabat, ut si quid de se agerent, potiùs de præsentì quæstio haberetur, quàm absens invidiæ crimine accusaretur. Inimici verò ejus quiescen-

CHAP. IV. He was charged with this crime in an assembly of the people, by his enemies: But the time for going to the war was at hand. He considering that, and being not ignorant of the custom of his countrymen, insisted, that if they had a mind to do any thing about him, an enquiry might be made about him, *whilst* present, rather than that he should be charged with an invidious crime *when*

(a) Rites, secretly performed in honour of any god, were called *mysteries*. Those here meant are the Mysteries of Ceres, worshipped in a singular manner at Eleusis in Attica, nigh the Saronic Bay. None were admitted to the celebration of these or any other *mysteries*, but upon certain conditions, one of which was an oath of secrecy.

dum in præsentī, quia nocere se ei non posse intelligebant, et illud tempus expectandum decreverunt, quo exisset, ut sic absentem aggrederentur; itaque fecerunt. Nam postquam in Siciliam eum pervenisse crediderunt, absentem, quod sacra violasset, reum fecerunt. Quâ de re cum ei nunciatus a magistratu in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum ad causam dicendam rediret, essetque in magnâ spe provinciæ benè administrandæ: non parere noluit, et in triremem, quæ ad eum deportandum erat missa, ascendit: ac Thurios in Italiam pervectus, multa secum reputans de immoderatâ civium suorum licentiâ crudelitæque erga nobiles: utilissimùm ratus impendentem evitare tempestatem, clam se à custodibus subduxit, et inde primum Elidem, deinde Thebas, venit. Postquam autem se ca-

absent. But his enemies resolved to be quiet for the present, because they were sensible they could not hurt him, and to wait the time when he should go out, that so they might attack him *when* absent. And so they did. For after they believed he was got into Sicily they impeached him, *though* absent, for having profaned the *holy mysteries*. Concerning which affair, when a messenger was dispatched to him in Sicily by the government, that he should return home to plead his cause, and he was in great hopes of managing his province successfully, he would not disobey, and went on board a ship with three banks of oars, which was sent to bring him away; and arriving at (a) Thurii in Italy, considering much with himself of the extravagant licentiousness of his countrymen, and their cruelty towards men of quality, judging it the most expedient to avoid the impending storm, he privately withdrew himself from his keepers, and went from thence first to (b) Elis, and

(a) A city in the country of the Brutii in the bottom of Italy.

(b) A city in the west parts of Peloponnesus.

pitis damnatum, bonis publicatis, audivit, et quod usu venerat, Eumolpidas sacerdotes à populo coactos, ut se devoverent, ejusque devotionis quò testator esset memoria exemplum in pilâ lapideâ incisum, esse positum in publico, Lacedæmonem demigravit. Ibi (ut ipse prædicare consueverat) non adversus patriam sed inimicus suos, bellum gessit, quod iidem hostes essent civitati. Nam cum intelligerent se plurimum prodesse reipublicæ, ex ea ejecisse, plusque iræ suæ, quàm utilitati publicæ, paruisse. Itaque hujus consilio Lacedæmonii cum Persarum rege amicitiam fecerunt: deinde Deceliam in Atticâ muniêrunt, præsidioque perpetuo ibi posito, in obsidione Athenas tenuerunt. Ejusdem operâ Ioniam à societate averterunt Atheniensium; quo facto, multo superiores bello esse cœperunt.

afterwards to (a) Thebes. But after he heard that he was condemned to die, his estate being confiscated, and which, had been usual, that the priests *called* Eumolpidæ had been forced by the people to curse him, and that the monument of that curse might be more public, a copy of the curse was cut in a stone pillar, and erected in a public place, he removed to Lacedæmon: There, as he used to say, he carried on a war, not against his country, but his enemies, because the same were enemies to the city. For because they understood that he could be very serviceable to the commonwealth, they had turned him out of it, and had more regard to the gratifying of their own resentment, than the common interest. Wherefore by his advice, the Lacedæmonians made an alliance with the king of the Persians, and then fortified Decelia in Attica, and having placed a constant garrison there, kept Athens under a blockade. By his means they took off Ionia from the alliance of the Athenians;

(a) A city in the west parts of Achaia, north of Athens, and the metropolis of the country called Bœotia.

CAP. V. Neque verò his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi sunt facti, quàm timore ab eo alienati. Nam cum acerimi viri præstantem prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent; pertimuerunt, ne, caritate patriæ ductus, aliquando ab ipsis decisceret, et cum suis in gratiam rediret. Itaque tempus ejus interficiendi quærere instituerunt. Id Alcibiadi diutius celari non potuit: erat enim ea sagacitate, ut decipi non posset; præsertim cum animum attendisset ad cavendum. Itaque ad Tissaphernem præfectum regis Darii se contulit, cujus cum in intimam amicitiam pervenisset, et Atheniensium, malè gestis in Siciliâ rebus, opes senescere, contrà Lacedæmoniorum crescere, videret: initio cum Pisandro prætore, quòd apud Samum exercitum habebat, per internuncios colloquitur, et de reditu suo facit

upon the doing of which they began to be much superior in the war.

CHAP. V. But they were not so much made friends to Alcibiades by these things, as *they were* alienated from him by fear. For as they observed the excellent conduct of this very active man in all things, they were afraid, lest, tempted by the love of his country, he should sometime revolt from them, and return to a good understanding with his *countrymen*. Wherefore, they resolved to seek an opportunity to kill him. That could not be long concealed from Alcibiades. For he was a *person* of that sagacity, that he could not be deceived, especially when he applied his attention to be upon his guard. Wherefore he betook himself to Tissaphernes, viceroy of king Darius, into whose intimate friendship when he was got, and perceived the power of the Athenians to decline, their affairs being ill managed in Sicily, *and* on the other hand, that of the Lacedæmonians to grow, he confers at first by messengers, with Pisander the commander, who had an army

mentionem; erat enim eodem quo Alcibiades sensu, populi potentia non amicus, et optimatum fautor. Ab hoc destitutus, primum per Thrasybulum, Lyci filium, ab exercitu recipitur, prætorque fit apud Samum. Post, suffragante Theramene, plebiscito restituitur, parique absens imperio præficitur, simul cum Thrasybulo et Theramene. Horum imperio tanta commutatio rerum facta est, ut Lacedæmonii, qui paulò antè victores vigerant, perterriti pacem peterent. Victi enim erant quinque præliis terrestribus, tribus navalibus: in quibus ducentas naves triremes amiserant, quæ captæ, in hostium venerant potestatem. Alcibiades, simul cum collegis, receperat Ioniam, Hellespontum, multas præterea urbes Græcas, quæ in orâ sitæ sunt Asiæ, quarum expugnaverant complures; in his Byzantium; neque minus

at (a) Samos, and makes mention of his return; for he was in the same mind with Alcibiades, no friend to the power of the people, and a favourer of the quality. Being baulked by him, he is received first of all by the army, by means of Thrasybulus, the son of Lycus, and is made commander at Samos. Afterwards Theramenes making interest for him, he is restored by a decree of the people, and *though* absent, is placed in the same command, together with Thrasybulus and Theramenes. Under their command, there was so great an alteration of affairs, that the Lacedæmonians, who a little before had flourished as conquerors, being very much terrified, sued for peace; for they had been conquered in five battles at land, and three by sea, in which they had lost two hundred ships with three banks of oars, which being taken, had come under the power of the enemies. Alcibiades, together with his fellow commanders, had recovered Ionia, the Hellespont and many Greek cities besides, that are

(a) Samos is an island of the Ægean sea, upon the coast of Ionia.

multas consilio ad amicitiam adjunxerant, quòd in captos clementiâ fuerant usi. Inde prædâ onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis, Athenas venerunt.

CAP. VI. His cum obviam universa civitas in Pyræum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium expectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad ejus triremem vulgus conflueret, perinde, ac si solus advenisset. Sic enim populo erat persuasum, et adversas superiores, et præsentēs secundas res, accidisse ejus operâ. Itaque et Siciliae amissum et Lacedæmoniorum victorias, culpæ suæ tribuebant, quòd talem virum è civitate expulissent. Neque id sine causa arbitrari videbantur. Nam postquam exercitui præesse cœperat, neque terrâ, neque mari, hostes pares esse poterant. Hic ut navi egressus est, quanquam

on the border of Asia, several of which they took by force; amongst these Byzantium. Nor had they brought over fewer to their alliance by their good conduct, because they used *great* clemency to the conquered. After this being laden with spoil, having enriched their army, *and* performed very great things, they came to Athens.

CHAP. VI. When the whole city came down to Pyræus, to meet them, such was the longing of all people to see Alcibiades, that the commonalty flocked to his ship, as if he had come alone. For thus the people were persuaded, that both their former ill *success*, and their present good *success*, had happened through his means. Wherefore they imputed both the loss of Sicily, and the victories of the Lacedæmonians, to their own fault, because they had banished such a man out of their city. Nor did they seem to think so without reason: For after he began to command the army, their enemies were neither able to be a match *for them* by land nor sea. As soon as he went out of his ship, tho' Theramenes and

Theramenes et Thrasybulus eisdem rebus præfuerant, simulque venerant in Pyræum, tamen illum unum omnes prosequabantur: et (id quod nunquam antea usu venerat, nisi Olympiæ victoribus) coronis aureis æreisque vulgò donabatur. Ille lachrymans talem benevolentiam civium suorum accipiebat, reminiscens pristini temporis acerbitem. Postquam Astu venit, concione advocatâ, sic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus fuerit, quin ejus casum lachrymârit, inimicumque his se ostenderit, quorum operâ patriâ pulsus fuerat; perinde ac si alius populus, non ille ipse qui tum flebat, eum sacrilegii damnâset. Restituta ergo huic sunt publicè bona, iidemque illi Eumolpidæ sacerdotes rursus resecrare sunt coacti, qui eum devoverant; pilæque illæ, in quibus devotio fuerat scripta, in mare præcipitatæ.

CAP. VII. Hæc Alcibiadi lætitia minùs fuit diuturna. Nam cum ei essent omnes honores

Thrasybulus had been in the same command, and had come together *with him* into Pyræus, yet they all followed him alone; and (that which had never happened before, unless to the conquerors at Olympia) he was commonly presented with golden and brazen crowns. He received this kindness of his countrymen weeping, remembering their severity some time before. After he came to the city, having called an assembly, he spoke so, that nobody was so cruel, but he lamented his hard hap, and declared himself an enemy to those, by whose means he had been banished his country; as if some other people, and not that very same which then wept, had condemned him for sacrilege. Wherefore his estate was restored him at the public charge, and the same priests, *called* Eumolpidæ, who had cursed him, were obliged to recall their curses; and the pillars upon which the curse had been written, were thrown into the sea.

CHAP. VII. This joy of Alcibiades was not lasting; for after all *manner of* honours had been voted for

decreti, totaque respublica domi bellicue tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur; et ipse postulâset, ut duo sibi collegæ darentur, Thrasybulus et Adimantus, neque id negatum esset; classe in Asiam profectus, quod apud Cymen minùs ex sententiâ rem gesserat, in invidiam recidit; nihil enim eum non efficere posse ducebant. Ex quo fiebat, ut omnia minùs prosperè gesta ejus culpæ tribuerunt, cum eum aut negligenter, aut malitiosè fecisse loquerentur, sicutum accidit. Nam corruptum à rege, capere Cymen noluisse arguebant. Itaque huic maximè putamus malo fuisse nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis. Timebatur enim non minùs quam diligebatur, ne secundâ fortunâ, magnisque elatus opibus, tyrannidem concupisceret. Quibus rebus factum est, ut absenti magistratum abrogarent, et alium in ejus

him, and the whole management both at home and in the war delivered to him, to be carried on at the pleasure of *him* alone, and he had demanded, that two partners should be given him, Thrasybulus and Adimantus, nor was that denied *him*; going with the fleet into Asia, because he did not manage his business at Cyme to their mind, he again fell under their hatred; for they thought he could do every thing. From whence it was, that they imputed all things, less successfully managed, to his fault, because they said he either acted carelessly or maliciously; as it then happened. For they alleged against him, that being bribed by the king of *Persia*, he would not take (a) Cyme. Wherefore we think that their excessive opinion of his parts and abilities was chiefly his misfortune. For he was no less feared than beloved, lest being elevated by his good fortune and great power, he should aim at the sovereignty. By which means it came to pass, that they took his commission from him in his

(a) A town of Æolia in Asia Minor, upon the Ægean Sea.

locum substituerent. Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit, et se Perinthum contulit, ibique tria castella communivit, Bornos, Byziam, Macrontichos; manumque collectâ primus Græciæ in Thraciam introiit, glorioſius exiſtimans barbarorum præda locupletari, quàm Graiorum. Quâ ex re creverat ejus fama cum opibus, magnamque amicitiam sibi cum quibusdam regibus Thraciæ pepererat.

CAP. VIII. Neque tamen à caritate patriæ potuit recedere. Nam cum apud Ægos flumen Philocles prætor Atheniensium classem constituisſet suam, neque longè abesset Lysander prætor Lacedæmoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus, ut bellum quàm diutissimè duceret, quòd ipsis pecunia à rege sup-

absence, and put another in his place. As soon as he heard that, he would not return home, and betook himself to (a) Perinthus, and there fortified three castles, Borni, Byzia, and Macrontichos; and having got together a body of troops, he entered into Thrace (b) the first man of Greece, thinking it more glorious to be enriched with the spoils of the Barbarians, than the Greeks. From which thing his fame grew with his riches, and he procured himself a strong alliance with several kings of Thrace.

CHAP. VIII. However, he could not recede from his affection for his country. For when Philocles, the admiral of the Athenians, had drawn up his fleet at the river Ægos, and Lysander was not far off, the admiral of the Lacedæmonians, who was employed wholly in a design to protract the war as long as possible, because money was given them by the king of Persia;

(a) A town of Thrace, upon the Propontis, afterwards called Heraclea.

(b) Our author is here guilty of a strange piece of forgetfulness, having told us above, that Miltiades had before planted a colony in the Thracian Chersonese, and made frequent inroads into the neighbouring country of the Thracians.

peditabatur: contra, Atheniensibus exhaustis, præter arma et naves, nihil erat super: Alcibiades ad Atheniensium venit exercitum, ibique, præsentē vulgo, agere cœpit, si vellent, se coacturum Lysandrum aut dimicare, aut pacem petere; Lacedæmonios eò nolle confligere classe, quòd pedestribus copiis plusquam navibus valerent: Sibi autem esse facile Suthen regem Thraciæ deducere, ut eos terrâ depelleret. Quo facto necessariò aut classe conflicturos, aut bellum composituros. Id etsi verè dictum Philocles animadvertēbat, tamen postulata facere noluit, quòd sentiebat se, Alcibiade recepto, nullius momenti apud exercitum futurum; et si quid secundi evenisset, nullam in eâ re suam partem fore: contra ea, si quid adversi accidisset, se unum ejus delicti futurum reum. Ab hoc discedens, Alcibiades, *Quoniam, inquit, victoria patriæ repugnas, illud moneo, juxta hostes castra habeas nautica.*

on the other hand, the Athenians being exhausted had nothing left besides their arms and their ships: Alcibiades came to the army of the Athenians, and there, before the common soldiery, he began to tell them, that, if they pleased, he would force Lysander either to fight or beg for peace; that the Lacedæmonians were unwilling to engage with their fleet for this reason, because they were stronger in land forces than ships; but that it was an easy matter for him to bring down Seuthes, king of the Thracians, to drive them from the land; upon which they would of necessity either engage with their fleet, or make an end of the war. Tho' Philocles observed that was rightly said, yet he would not do the things desired, because he was sensible, that if Alcibiades was received *amongst them*, he should be of no account with the army; and if any good success happened *upon it*, that his share in the matter would be none at all: On the other hand, if any ill hap should fall out, that he alone should be called to an account for the miscarriage. Alcibiades *upon his depart-*

Periculum est enim ne immodestiâ militum nostrorum occasio detur Lysandro nostri opprimendi exercitûs. Neque ea res illum fefellit. Nam Lysander, quum per speculatores comperisset, vulgum Atheniensium in terram prædatum exsisse, navesque penè inanes relictas, tempus rei gerendæ non dimissit, eoque impetu totum bellum delevit.

ing from him, said, *since you oppose your country's success, this however I advise you, to have your sea camp nigh the enemy; for the danger is, lest, by the disorderly behaviour of our soldiers, an opportunity should be given Lysander of cutting off our army.* Nor did that thing deceive him; for Lysander, after he had found by his scouts that the common soldiers of the Athenians were gone ashore plundering, and that the ships were left almost empty, did not let slip the opportunity of doing his business, and at that push made an end of the whole war.

CAP. IX. At Alcibiades, victis Atheniensibus, non satis tuta eadem loca sibi arbitratus, penitùs in Thraciam se supra Propontidem abdidit, sperans ibi facillimè suam fortunam oculi posse; sed falso. Nam Thraces, postquam eum cum magnâ pecuniâ venisse senserunt, insidias ei fecerunt; qui ea quæ apportavit abstulerunt, ipsum capere non potuerunt. Ille cernens nullum locum sibi tutum in Græciâ, prop-

CHAP. IX. But Alcibiades, after the Athenians were conquered, not thinking the same places secure enough for him, hid himself a good way up in Thrace, above the Propontis, hoping that his condition might be very easily concealed there; but falsely. For the Thracians, after they perceived he was come with a great deal of money, laid an ambush for him, who got the things which he brought with him, *but* could not catch him. He perceiving no place was safe for him in Greece, by reason

ter potentiam Lacedæmoniorum, at Pharnabazum in Asiam transiit; quem quidem adeò sua cepit humanitate, ut eum nemo in amicitia autecederet. Namque ei Grunium dedit in Phrygiâ castrum, ex quo quinquaginta talenta vectigalis capiebat. Qua fortunâ Alcibiades non erat contentus, neque Athenas victas Lacedæmoniis servire poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur cogitatione, sed videbat id sine rege Persarum non posse fieri: ideoque eum amicum sibi cupiebat adjungi: neque dubitabat facillè se consecuturum, si modo ejus conveniendi habuisset potestatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei bellum clam parare, Lacedæmoniis adjuvantibus,

of the power of the Lacedæmonians, went over to Pharnabazus into Asia, whom he so charmed with his courteous behaviour, that nobody exceeded him in his friendship. For he gave him Grunium, a castle in Phrygia, from which he received *yearly* fifty (*a*) talents revenue; with which good fortune Alcibiades was not content, nor could he endure, that conquered Athens should be subject to the Lacedæmonians. Wherefore he was bent, with the utmost concern, upon delivering his country; but saw that could not be done without the king (*b*) of the Persians; and therefore he desired to have him joined to him *as* his friend. Nor did he doubt but he should easily compass it, provided he could *but* have the opportunity of waiting upon him; for he knew that his brother (*c*) Cyrus

(a) The talent used in common reckoning, was that of Attica, worth about £. 208.

(b) This king of the Persians was Artaxerxes Mnemon, son of Darius Nothus.

(c) This Cyrus is commonly surnamed the Less, to distinguish him from the Great Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy. He was a prince of great abilities, according to Xenophon's account of him, who was personally acquainted with him, and attended him in his expedition against his brother. He had been made by his father governor of Asia Minor.

sciebat. Id si ei aperuisset, magnam se ab eo initurum gratiam videbat.

CAP. X. Hæc cum moliretur, peteretque à Pharnabazo, ut ad regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias, cæterique tyranni Atheniensium, certos homines ad Lysandrum in Asiam miserunt, qui eum certiores facerent, nisi Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum, quas ipse Athenis constituisset. Quare, si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum persequeretur. His Lacon rebus commotus, statuit accuratius sibi agendum cum Pharnabazo. Huic ergo renunciat, quæ regi cum Lacedæmoniis essent, stare non posse, fœdera-que irrita futura, nisi Alcibiadem vivum aut mortuum tradidisset. Non tulit hoc satrapes, et violare clementiam,

was privately levying war against him, *with* the Lacedæmonians assisting him. If he discovered this to him, he saw that he should be in great favour with him.

CHAP. X. Whilst he was attempting this, and desiring Pharnabazus, that he might be sent to the king, at the same time Critias, and the other tyrants (*a*) of the Athenians; dispatched away trusty men into Asia to Lysander, to make him acquainted, that unless he took off Alcibiades, none of those things would stand good, which he had established at Athens. Wherefore, if he had a mind his acts should continue, he must look after him. The Lacedæmonian, being roused with this, resolved to deal roundly with Pharnabazus. Wherefore he tells him that the alliance which the king had with the Lacedæmonians could not continue, and that the treaties would be of no effect, unless he delivered up Alcibiades alive or dead. The viceroy could not bear that, and chose rather to violate

(*a*) When the Lacedæmonians had reduced Athens, in the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, they vested the government in a council of thirty, ever after called the Thirty Tyrants.

quam regis opes minui, maluit. Itaque misit Sysamithren et Bageum ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, cum ille esset in Phrygiâ, iterque ad regem pararet. Missi, clam vicinitatî, in quâ tum Alcibiades erat, dant negotium, ut eum interficiant. Illi cum eum ferro aggredi non auderent, noctu ligna contulerunt circa casum eam, in quâ quiescebat, eamque succenderunt, ut incendio conficerent, quem manu superari posse diffidebant. Ille autem sonitu flammæ excitatus, quòd gladius ei erat subductus, familiaris sui subalare telum eripuit: Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadiâ hospes, qui nunquam discedere volebat. Hunc sequi se jubet, et id quod in præsentîâ vestimentorum fuit, arripuit. His in ignem ejectis, flammæ vim transit. Quem ut barbari incendium effugisse

the laws of clemency, than that the king's interest should be lessened. Wherefore he sent Sysamithres and Bageus to kill Alcibiades, whilst he was in (a) Phrygia, and preparing for a journey to the king. The *persons* sent privately give order to the neighbourhood in which Alcibiades then was, to kill him. They, not daring to attack him with the sword, in the night-time laid wood about the thatched house, in which he was asleep, and set it on fire, that they might dispatch him by burning, whom they despaired could be mastered by fighting. But he being awakened by the crackling of the flame, because his sword had been privately withdrawn from him, drew out a dagger of his friend. For there was with him a certain host of his of (b) Arcadia, who would never depart from him: He bids him follow him, and took up what clothes he had by him at that time, and throwing them out into the fire, passes the fury of the flame. Whom as soon

(a) There were two provinces of Asia Minor, called Phrygia, the Greater and the Lesser.

(b) Arcadia is a country in the middle of Peloponnesus.

eminus viderunt, telis missis interfecerunt, caputque ejus and Pharnabazum retulerunt. At mulier, quæ cum eo vivere consueverat, muliebri suâ veste contectum, ædificii incendio mortuum cremavit, quod ad vivum interimendum erat comparatum. Sic Alcibiades, annos circiter quadraginta natus, diem obiit supremum.

CAP. XI. Hunc infamatum à plerisque, tres gravissimi historici summis laudibus extulerunt: Thucydides, qui ejusdem ætatis fuit; Theopompus, qui fuit post aliquantò natus; et Timæus; qui quidem duo maledicentissimi, nescio quomodo, in illo uno laudando consenserunt.

as the Barbarians saw at a distance to have escaped the fire, discharging their weapons *at him*, they killed him, and brought his head to Pharnabazus. But the (*a*) woman which had used to live with him, burnt him *when* dead, covered with her own raiment, in the fire of the house, which had been prepared to burn him alive. Thus Alcibiades ended his last day, being about forty years old.

CHAP. XI. Three very authentic historians have extolled him, *tho'* blackened by most *writers*, with the highest commendations; Thucydides, who was of the same age; Theopompus, who was born some time after; and Timæus; which two *last*, *tho'* much addicted to ill language, I know not how, have agreed together in praising

(*a*) Alcibiades seems, by this account, to have been but very poorly attended for a person of his figure, whose circumstances, though in banishment, might very well have afforded him a much more considerable equipage; since he had, by virtue of Pharnabazus's generosity to him, an income of ten thousand pounds a year. But we are not to judge of antiquity by the present times, and think every thing incredible, that does not square with the way and fashion of the world now-a-days. There was then a great simplicity of manners among the Greeks, which, with the freedom of their government, rendered them invincible; as the luxury of the Persians, a luxurious, fashionable people, like us, together with their slavish subjection to their prince, rendered them an easy prey to the Greeks, and made them fly like sheep in the day of battle.

Nam ea, quæ suprâ diximus, de eo prædicârunt, atque hoc ampliùs: cum Athenis splendissimâ civitate natus esset, omnes Athenienses splendore ac dignitate vitæ superâsse. Postquam inde expulsus Thebas venerit, adedò studiis eorum inservisse, ut nemo eum labore corporisque viribus posset æquiparare. Omnes enim Bœotii magis firmitati corporis quàm ingenii acumini inserviunt. Eundem apud Lacedæmonios, quorum moribus summa virtus in patientiâ ponebatur, sic duritiei se dedisse, ut parsimoniâ victûs atque cultûs omnes Lacedæmonios vinceret. Fuisse apud Thracas, homines vinolentos, rebusque venereis deditos: hos quoquè in his rebus antecessisse. Venisse ad Persas, apud quos summa laus esset fortiter venari, luxuriosè vivere. Horum sic imitatum consuetudinem, ut illi ipsi eum in his maximè admirarentur. Quibus rebus effecisse, ut, apud quoscunque esset, princeps poneretur, ha-

him alone; for they have related those things of him, which we have spoken above, and this farther, that tho' he was born in Athens, the most splendid city *in the world*, he excelled all the Athenians in the splendor and dignity of his life. After he came to Thebes, *upon his* being banished thence, he so applied himself to their course of life, that nobody could equal him in laborious exercises, and strength of body; for all the Bœotians mind more the *improvement of their* bodily strength than acuteness of parts. The same *man* amongst the Lacedæmonians, according to the fashion of whom, the highest virtue was placed in the enduring of hardship, did so give himself up to a hard way of life, that he excelled all the Lacedæmonians in the frugality of his diet and dress. That *when* he was amongst the Thracians, drunken fellows, and addicted to lewdness, he quite outwent them too in these matters. That he came amongst the Persians, with whom it was *matter* of the highest commendation, to hunt hard and live high. That he so imitated their way *of life*,

bereturque charissimus. Sed satis de hoc; reliquos ordiamur.

that they themselves admired him prodigiously in these things. By which means he brought it to pass, that with whomsoever he was, he was reckoned a leading man, and mightily beloved. But enough of him: Let us now proceed to the rest.

VIII.

THRASYBULUS,
Lyci filius, Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

THRASYBULUS, Lyci filius, Atheniensis. Si per se virtus sine fortunâ ponderanda sit, dubito an hunc primum omnium ponam. Illi sine dubio neminem præfero, fide, constantiâ, magnitudine animi, in patriam amore. Nam quod multi voluerunt, pauci potuerunt, ab uno tyranno patriam liberare, huic contigit, ut à triginta oppressam tyrannis, è servitute in libertatem vindicaret. Sed nescio quomodo, quum eum nemo anteiret his

VIII.

THRASYBULUS,
The son of Lycus, the Athenian.

CHAP. I.

THRASYBULUS, the son of Lycus, the Athenian. If virtue is to be considered by itself, without fortune, I am in doubt, whether or no I should not place him the first of all the *Greek commanders*. Without doubt, I prefer nobody before him, for honour, constancy, greatness of soul, and love to his country. For what a great many have desired, *but few could effect, that is*, to deliver their country from one tyrant, happened to him, to deliver his country oppressed by thirty tyrants, out of slavery into liberty. But I know not how,
I 2

virtutibus, multi nobilitate præcurrerunt. Primum, Peloponnesio bello multa hic sine Alcibiade gessit: ille nullam rem sine hoc: quæ ille universa naturali quodam bono fecit lucri. Sed illa tamen omnia communia imperatoribus cum militibus et fortunâ, quod in prælii concursu abit res à consilio ad vires vimque pugnantium. Itaque jure suo nonnulla ab imperatore miles, plurima verò fortuna, vendicat: seque his plus valuisse, quam ducis prudentiam, verè potest prædicare. Quare illud magnificentissimum factum proprium est Thrasybuli: Nam cum triginta tyranni, præpositi à Lacedæmoniis, servitute oppressas tenerent Athenas, plurimos cives, quibus in bello pepercerat fortuna, partim patriâ expulissent, partim interfecissent, plurimorum bona publicata inter se divisissent; non solum princeps, sed et solus initio bellum his indixit.

tho' nobody excelled him in those virtues, many outstripped him in fame. First of all in the Peloponnesian war, he performed many things without Alcibiades, he *did* nothing without him; all which, by a certain natural advantage, he gained the credit of. But however, all those things *are* in common to the generals with the soldiery and fortune, because, in the recounter of a battle, the business proceeds from conduct to strength, and the mettle of the fighters. Wherefore the soldier of right claims something from the general, but fortune very much; and she may truly boast, that she has *always* prevailed more in those matters, than the prudence of a general. Wherefore that most noble action is entirely Thrasybulus's; for when the thirty tyrants, set up by the Lacedæmonians, kept Athens oppressed in slavery, and partly banished their country, partly killed a great many citizens, whom fortune had spared in the war, and divided their estates, being confiscated, amongst them, he was not only the principal, but the only man at first, *that* made war upon them.

CAP. II. Hic enim cum Phylen confugisset, quod est castellum in Atticâ munitissimum, non plus habuit secum quam triginta de suis. Hoc initium fuit salutis Atticorum: hoc robur libertatis clarissimæ civitatis. Neque verò hic contemptus est primò à tyrannis, sed ejus solitudo: quæ quidem res et illis contemnentibus perniciæ, et huic despecto salutis, fuit. Hæc enim illos ad persequendum segnes, hos autem, tempore ad comparandum dato, fecit robustiores. Quò magis præceptum illud omnium in animis esse debet, Nihil in bello oportere contemni: nec sine causâ dici, Matrem timidi flere non solere. Neque tamen pro opinione Thrasybuli auctæ sunt opes; nam jam illis temporibus fortius boni pro libertate loquebantur, quàm pugnant. Hinc in Pyræum transiit, Munichiamque muniivit. Hanc bis tyranni oppugnare sunt adorti, ab eâq; turpiter repulsi, protinus in urbem, armis impeden-

CHAP. II. For when he first fled to Phyle, which is a very strong castle in Attica, he had no more with him than thirty of his countrymen. This was the original of the recovery of the Athenians; this the strength of the liberty of that most famous city. And indeed he was not *so much* despised at first by the tyrants, as his being alone: which thing was both the ruin of those that despised *him*, and the security of him that was despised; for this rendered them *too* lazy to look after him, and made the others stronger, by the time *that was* given them to make due preparations. For which the more ought that maxim to be in the minds of all, that nothing ought to be slighted in war, and that it is not said without reason, that the mother of a coward does not use to weep. However, Thrasybulus's strength was not increased according to his expectations. For even then at that time, good men spoke more bravely for their liberty, than they fought *for it*. After that he went into Pyræus, and fortified Munichia. The tyrants twice attempted to assault it, and being shamefully driven from it, immedi-

tisque amissis, refugee-runt. Usus est Thrasybulus non minùs prudentiâ quam fortitudine: nam cedentes violari vetuit, cives enim civibus parcere æquum censebat. Neque quisquam est vulneratus, nisi qui prior impugnare voluit. Neminem jacentem veste spoliavit: nil attigit nisi arma, quorum indigebat, et quæ ad victum pertinebant. In secundo prælio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, cum quidem adversus Thrasybulum fortissimè pugnaret.

CAP. III. Hoc dejecto, Pausanias venit Atticis auxilio, rex Lacedæmoniorum. Is inter Thrasybulum et eos qui urbem tenebant, fecit pacem his conditionibus: Ne qui, præter triginta tyrannos, et decem, qui postea prætores creati, superioris more crudelitatis erant usi, afficerentur exilio: neve cujusquam bona publicarentur: reipublicæ procuratio populo redderetur. Præclarum hoc quoque Thrasybuli, quod reconciliatâ pace, quum pluri-

ately fled into the town, their arms and baggage being lost. Thrasybulus made use of prudence no less than valour; for he forbade those that fled to be hurt; for he thought it reasonable, that citizens should spare their *fellow-citizens*; nor was any one wounded, but he that would first attack *them*. He stripped no one as he lay, of his clothes; he meddled with nothing but arms, which he wanted, and provisions. In the second battle fell Critias, the tyrants' general, after he had indeed fought very bravely against Thrasybulus.

CHAP. III. He being slain, Pausanias, king of the Lacedæmonians, came to the assistance of the Athenians. He made a peace betwixt Thrasybulus and those who held the town, upon these terms: That none besides the thirty tyrants, and the ten, who being afterwards made governors of the city, had used the way of the former cruelty should be punished with banishment, nor any one's estate confiscated, and the government of the common-wealth restored to the people. This likewise was a famous thing of Thrasybu-

mum in civitate posset, legem tulit, ne quis anteactarum rerum accusaretur, neve mulctaretur: eamque illi legem oblivionis appellârunt. Neque verò hanc tantum ferendam curavit, sed etiam ut valeret, effecit. Nam quum quidam ex his, qui simul cum eo in exilio fuerant, eadem facere eorum vellent, cum quibus in gratiam reditum fuerat; publicè prohibuit, et id, quod pollicitus erat, præstitit.

CAP. IV. Huic protantis meritis, honoris ergò corona, à populo data est, facta è duabus virgulis oleaginis: quæ, quòd amor civium, non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam, magnæque fuit gloriæ. Bene ergo Pittacus ille, qui septem sapientum numero est habitus, quum ei Mitylenæi multa millia juge-

lus, that *after* a peace was made *and* he was the most powerful person in the city, he made a law that nobody should be called to an account for things past, nor punished; and they called that an act of oblivion. Nor did he only take care that this should be passed, but likewise looked to it that it should take place effectually: For when some of those, who had been together with him in banishment, would have made a massacre of those with whom they had returned to good agreement; he publicly hindered it, and performed that which he had promised.

CHAP. IV. A (*a*) crown made of two sprigs of olive, was, by way of respect to him, given him by the people, for these eminent services; which because the love of his countrymen, and not violence, had procured him, had no hatred *attending it*, and was *matter* of great glory. Wherefore, that Pittacus, who was reckoned in the number of the seven wise

(*a*) This is an instance and a proof of the plainness and simplicity of those times, in comparison of our own. The olive was a tree sacred to the goddess Minerva, patroness of their city; for the heathens had, in every city almost, some peculiar god or goddess, looked upon as the guardian of the place.

rum agri muneri darent, *Nolite, rogo vos, (iniquit) mihi dare, quod multi invideant, plures etiam concupiscant. Quare ex istis nolo amplius quam centum jugera, quæ et meam animi æquitatem, et vestram voluntatem indicent. Nam parva munera, diutina; locustilia, non propria esse consueverunt.* Illâ igitur coronâ contentus Thrasybulus neque amplius requisivit, neque quemquam honore se antecessisse existimavit. Hic, sequenti tempore quum prætor classem ad Ciliciam appulisset, neque satis diligenter in castris ejus agerentur vigiliæ, à barbaris, ex oppido noctu eruptione factâ, in tabernaculo interceptus est.

men, (a) when the Mityleneans (b) gave him a great many thousand acres (c) of land as a present, said well, *Do not, I beseech you, give me what many may envy me for, and more covet. Wherefore I will have no more of those than a hundred acres, which may both shew the reasonableness of my mind, and your good-will. For small gifts are lasting, but rich ones do not use to be of any long continuance.* Wherefore Thrasybulus, being content with that crown, neither sought for more, nor thought any one exceeded him in honour. He some time after, when being admiral, he brought up his fleet to Cilicia, and the watch was not diligently enough kept in his camp, was slain in his tent by the barbarians, in a sally made out of the town in the night-time.

(a) These seven wise men flourished about the times of Cræsus, the rich king of Lydia, and Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian monarchy, i. e. about 560 years before Christ.

(b) Mitylene was the chief city of Lesbos, an island in the Ægean sea, nigh the coast of Asia Minor.

(c) Though I have rendered the word *Jugera*, Acres, yet it is only for want of a better. *Jugerum* is a piece of land 240 Roman feet long, and 120 broad, not much above half our acre.

IX.

CONON,
Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

CONON Atheniensis Peloponnesio bello accessit ad republicam, in eoque ejus opera magni fuit; nam et prætor pedestribus exercitibus præfuit, et præfectus classis res magnas mari gessit. Quas ob causas præcipuus ei honos habitus est. Namque omnibus unus insulis præfuit: In quâ potestate Pharas cepit, coloniam Lacedæmoniorum. Fuit etiam extremo Peloponnesio bello prætor, quum apud Ægos flumen copiæ Atheniensium à Lysandro sunt devictæ. Sed tum abfuit, eoque pejus res administrata est; nam et prudens rei militaris, et diligens erat imperator. Itaque nemini erat his temporibus dubium, si adfuisset, illam Athenienses calamitatem accepturos non fuisse.

IX.

CONON,
The Athenian.

CHAP. I.

CONON the Athenian came to be *employed* in public affairs in the Peloponnesian war, and his service in it was of great *account*; for he both commanded, as general, the land forces, and being admiral of the fleet, performed great things by sea: For which reason a particular honour was conferred upon him. For he alone governed all the islands: in which post he took Pharæ, a colony of the Lacedæmonians. He was likewise a commander in the latter end of the Peloponnesian war, when the forces of the Athenians were defeated by Lysander at the river Ægos. But he was then absent, and the matter was so much the worse managed; for he was both well skilled in military affairs and a diligent commander. Wherefore it was a doubt with nobody in those times, *that* if he had been there, the Athenians would not have received that loss.

CAP. II. Rebus autem afflictis, quum patriam obsideri audisset, non quæsivit, ubi ipse tutò viveret, sed unde præsidio esset civibus suis. Itaque contulit se ad Pharnabazum satrapen Ioniæ et Lydiæ, eundemque generum regis et propinquum: apud quem ut multum gratiâ valeret, multo labore multisque effecit periculis. Nam quum Lacedæmonii, Atheniensibus devictis, in societate non manerent, quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant, Agesilaumque bellatum misissent in Asiam, maximè impulsus à Tissapherne, qui ex intimis regis ab amicitia ejus defecerat, et cum Lacedæmoniis coiërat societatem; hunc adversus Pharnabazum habitus est imperator: re quidem verà exercitui præfuit Conon, ejusque omnia arbitrio gesta sunt. Hic multum ducem summum Agesilaum impedivit, sæpeque ejus consiliis obstitit. Neque verò non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agesilaum Asiam Tauro tenus regi fu-

CHAP. II. But the affairs of the Athenians being now in a bad condition, when he heard that his native city was besieged he did not seek a place where he might live securely himself, but from whence he might be assisting to his countrymen; wherefore he betook himself to Pharnabazus, the viceroy of Ionia and Lydia, and the same likewise son-in-law of the king and his relation; with whom he procured himself a very great interest, by his great diligence, and the running of many dangers. For when the Lacedæmonians, after the Athenians were conquered, did not continue in the alliance which they had made with Artaxerxes, and sent Agesilaus into Asia to make war, being encouraged chiefly by Tissaphernes, who of one of the kings intimates, had quitted his friendship, and clapped up an alliance with the Lacedæmonians; Pharnabazus was accounted the general against him, but indeed Conon commanded the army, and all things were managed at his pleasure. He very much curbed that great general Agesilaus, and oftentimes obstructed his designs. And

isse erepturum. Qui posteaquam domum à civibus suis revocatus est, quòd Bœotii et Athenienses Lacedæmoniis bellum indixerant: Conon nihilo seciùs apud præfectos regis versabatur, hisque omnibus maximo erat usui.

CAP. III. Defecerat à rege Tissaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi, quàm cæteris, erat apertum: multis enim magnisque meritis apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque id mirandum, si non facilè ad credendum inducebatur, reminiscens ejus se operâ Cyrum fratrem superâsse. Hujus accusandi gratiâ Conon à Pharnabazo ad regem missus, posteaquam venit, primum, ex more Persarum, ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithraustem, accessit, seque os-

indeed it was very apparent, that if he had not been *there*, Agesilaus would have taken *all* Asia as far as Mount (a) Taurus, from the king. After he was recalled home by his countrymen, because the Bœotians and Athenians had proclaimed war against the Lacedæmonians; Conon notwithstanding continued with the king's viceroys and was of great service to them all.

CHAP. III. Tissaphernes had revolted from the king, nor was that so plain to Artaxerxes, as to other people; for he had a great sway with the king, by *reason of his* many and great services, even when he did not continue in his allegiance. Nor is it to be wondered at, if he was not easily induced to believe it, remembering that he had conquered his brother Cyrus by his means. Conon being sent by Pharnabazus to the king, in order to accuse him, after he came *to court*, first applied, according to the custom of the Persians to Tithraustes, captain of the guard, who had the next degree of power *to the king*.

(a) A mountain of Asia, that takes its rise upon the borders of Cilicia, and runs through the middle of Asia.

tendit cum rege colloqui velle: nemo enim sine hoc, admittitur. Huic ille, *Nulla, inquit, mora est; sed tu delibera, utrum colloqui malis an per literas agere, quæ cogitas. Necesse est enim, si in conspectum, veneris, venerari te regem (quod βασιλευσιν illi vocant.) Hoc si tibi grave est, per me nihilo secius editis mandatis, conficies quod studes. Tum Canon, Mihi vero, inquit, non est grave quemvis honorem habere regi: sed vereor, ne civitati meæ sit opprobrio, si, cum ex eâ sim profectus, quæ cæteris gentibus imperare consueverit, potius barbarorum, quam illius, more fungar. Itaque quæ volebat, huic scripta tradidit.*

himself; and informs him that he was desirous to speak with the king, for nobody is admitted without him. Upon which he says to him, There is no obstacle to that; but do you consider whether you had rather talk with him, or treat with him by letters, upon what you design. For it is necessary for you, if you come into his sight, to (a) worship the king, which they call βασιλευσιν. If this be troublesome to you, giving me your instructions, you shall notwithstanding dispatch what you desire. Then Canon replied, It is not indeed any trouble to me to pay any respect to the king: but I am afraid lest it should be a disparagement to my native city, if, tho' I proceed from a city, which has been accustomed to rule over other nations, I should observe the usages of foreigners, (b) rather than that of my native city. Wherefore he delivered to

(a) This worshipping was falling flat on the face upon the ground before the king. The Greeks looked upon this as a piece of base, mean-spirited submission, and few of them could be brought to comply with it. Nay, an Athenian ambassador, having once submitted to worship the king, was put to death for it by the Athenians, upon his return home, as having done a thing highly reflecting on the honour of his country.

(b) The word *Barbarus* is borrowed from the Greeks, amongst

CAP. IV. Quibus cognit^{is} rex tantum auctoritate ejus motus est, ut Tissaphernem hostem judicârit, et Lacedæmonios bello persequi juss^{er}it, et ei permiserit, quem vellet, eligere ad dispensandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit sui esse consilii, sed ipsius, qui optimè suos nôsse deberet. Sed se suadere Pharnabazo id negotii daret. Hinc, magnis muneribus donatus, ad mare est missus, ut Cypriis, et Phœnicibus, cæterisque civitatibus maritimis, naves longas imperaret, classemque, quâ proximâ æstate mare tueri posset, compararet; dato adjutore Pharnabazo, sicut ipse voluerat. Id ut La-

him in writing what he had a mind to say.

CHAP. IV. Which things being known, the king was so much wrought upon by his persuasion, that he declared Tissaphernes an enemy, and ordered him to fall upon the Lacedæmonians in war, and permitted him to choose whom he pleased, to disburse the money *for the army*. Conon denied that choice was *a matter* for his determination, but his own, who ought to know his own *subjects* best; but that he advised him to give that employ to Pharnabazus. Upon this, being presented with great presents, he was sent to the sea, to order the Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other nations on the sea-coast, to *furnish* men of war, and provide a fleet, with which he might secure the sea next summer; Pharnabazus being

whom it was originally used to signify those that talked badly, or with difficulty; and because that was commonly the case of foreigners, as to the Greek tongue, it was used for all that were not Greeks. At last the word was taken in an ill sense; for the Greeks valuing themselves upon their learning, politeness and humanity, by which indeed they stood remarkably distinguished from the rest of mankind, in its application to foreigners, it had at length tacked to it an intimation of their deficiency in the noblest ornaments of human nature mentioned before; and last of all was used for an ignorant, brutish, cruel man, whether foreigner or Greek.

cedæmoniis est nunciatum, non sine curâ rem administrârunt, quod majus bellum imminere arbitrabantur, quàm si cum Persis solùm contenderent. Nam ducem fortem, et prudentem, regiis opibus præfuturum, ac secum dimicaturum videbant, quem neque consilio, neque copiis, superare possent. Hâc mente, magnam contrahunt classem: proficiscuntur Pisandro duce: Hos Conon, apud Cnidum adortus, magno prælio fugat, multas naves capit, complures deprimit. Quâ victoriâ non solum Athenæ, sed etiam cuncta Græcia, quæ sub Lacedæmoniorum fuerat imperio, liberata est. Conon cum parte navium in patriam venit: muros dirutos utrosque Piræci et Athenarum, reficiendos curat: pecuniæque quinquaginta talenta, quæ à Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

CAP. V. Accidit huic, quod cæteris mortalibus, ut inconsideration in se-

given him *as* his assistant, according as he himself had desired. As soon as this was told the Lacedæmonians, they managed their business not without care, because they thought a greater war threatened *them*, than if they had to do with the Persians only. For they saw that a valiant and a wise general would command the king's forces, and engage with them, whom they could outmatch neither in conduct nor troops. With this consideration they get together a great fleet, *and* go with Pisander *for* their admiral. Conon setting upon them, near Cnidus, routs them in a great fight, takes many ships, *and* sinks many; by which victory not only Athens; but likewise all Greece, which had been under the yoke of the Lacedæmonians, was delivered. Conon came with part of his ships into his native country, *and* takes care to have the walls both of Pyræus & Athens repaired; and presents to his countrymen fifty talents of money, which he had received from Pharnabazus.

CHAP. V. That happened to him, which *happens* to other mortals, that he was

cundâ, quàm in adversâ esset fortunâ. Nam classe Peloponnesiorum devictâ, quum ultum se injurias patriæ putaret, plura concupivit, quàm efficere potuit. Neque tamen ea non pia et probanda fuerunt, quòd potius patriæ opes augeri, quàm regis, maluit. more inconsiderate in his good, than in his bad fortune. For having conquered the fleet of the Peloponnesians, when he thought he had revenged the injuries *done* his country, he aimed at more things than he was able to accomplish. Neither yet were not these things (a) expressive of his duty to his

(a) The word *Pius* seems manifestly derived from the Greek *ἥπιος*, mild, gentle, kind, such as a man ought to be, in a distinguishing manner, to his own relations: Thence it was put to signify one that behaved towards such, with the regard and affection that was due to them. As a dutiful son is, as such, properly called *pious*; a person likewise that carried himself with due devotion or submission towards the gods, with due loyalty or affection to his prince or country, was upon that account denominated *pious*, and the virtue in all these cases called *pietas*; but our author talks here in the common strain and way of commending a man for his actions in behalf of his country, though without any regard to justice. It was a base piece of treachery in Conon to endeavour to debauch the Ionians and Æolians from their allegiance, and far from being commendable. Had any body served Augustus so, Nepos would, it is likely, have been forward enough to condemn him. But a very little consideration might have satisfied him, that what was criminal and villainous, when committed against an emperor of Rome, was as certainly so when committed against an emperor of Persia. This attempt of Conon's was too gross to admit of any excuse, much less does it deserve the commendation our author bestows upon it: And therefore herein I think he has betrayed his want of judgment.

Nam quum magnam auctoritatem sibi pugnâ ille navali quam apud Cnidum fecerat, constituisset, non solùm inter barbaros, sed etiam inter omnes Græciæ civitates, clam dare operam cœpit, ut Ioniam et Æoliam restitueret Atheniensibus. Id quum minus diligenter esset celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus præeret, Cononem evocavit, simulans ad regem cum se mittere vellet magnâ festinatione. Hujus nuncio parens quum venisset, in vincula conjectus est, in quibus aliquandiu fuit. Nonnulli eum ad regem abductum, ibique perissem scriptum reliquerunt. Contra ea, Dinon historicus, cui nos plurimùm de Persicis rebus credimus, effugisse scripsit; illud addubitat, utrùm Tiribazo sciente, an imprudente sit factum.

country, and commendable; because he chose rather to have the power of his country, than of the king, advanced. For after he had established to himself a great authority by that sea-fight, that he had fought at Cnidus, not only amongst foreigners, but amongst all the states of Greece, he began to endeavour underhand to restore Ionia and Æolia to the Athenians. As that was not carefully concealed, Tiribazus, who was governor of Sardis, sent for Conon, pretending that he would send him to the king in great haste. After he was come to him in obedience to his message, he was put under confinement, in which he was for some time. Some have left it on record, that he was carried to the king, and there put to death. On the other hand, Dinon the historian, whom we chiefly give credit to, as to Persian affairs, writes, that he made his escape; *but* doubts whether it was done with the knowledge of Tiribazus, or not.

X.

DION,

Hipparini Filius Syracusanus.

CAP. I.

X.

DION,

The son of Hipparinus, the Syracusan.

CHAP. I.

DION, Hipparini filius, Syracusanus, nobili genere natus, utrâque implicatus tyrannide Dionysiorum; namque ille superior Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, habuit in matrimonio: ex quâ duos filios, Hipparinum et Nysæum, procreavit, totidemque filias Sophrosynem et Areten: quarum priorem Dionysio filio, eidem cui regnum reliquit, nuptum dedit: alteram, Areten, Dioni. Dion autem præter nobilem propinquitatem, generosamque majorum famam, multa alia à naturâ habuit bona: In his ingenium docile, come, aptum ad artes optimas; magnam

DION, the son of Hipparinus, the Syracusan, was born of a noble family, and (a) allied to both the Dionysius's: for the first of them had Aristomache, Dion's sister, in marriage, by whom he had two sons, Hipparinus and Nysæus, and as many daughters, Sophrosyne and Arete; the former of which he gave in marriage to Dionysius the son, the same to whom he left his kingdom; the other, Arete, to Dion. Dion, besides this noble alliance, and the generous fame of his ancestors, had a great many other advantages from nature. Amongst these a docible genius, courteous, fit for the best arts; great handsomeness of person, which does not a little recommend

(a) Either our author has here expressed himself a little carelessly, or else the reading I think, must be faulty; for to me, the words do not seem to express the sense, which, it is plain, from the following words, he intended.

corporis dignitatem, quæ non minimum commendat: magnas præterea divitias à patrè relictas, quas ipse tyranni muneribus auxerat. Erat intimus Dionysio priori, neque minus propter mores quàm affinitatem. Namque, etsi Dionysii crudelitas ipsi displicebat, tamen saluum illum propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suorum causâ, esse studebat. Aderat in magnis rebus; ejusque consilio multùm movebatur tyrannus, nisi quâ in re major ipsius cupiditas intercesserat. Legationes verò omnes, quæ essent illustriores, per Dionem administrabantur; quas quidem ille diligenter obeundo, fideliter administrando, crudelissimum nomen tyranni suâ humanitate tegebat. Hunc à Dionysio missum Carthaginenses suspexerunt, ut neminem unquam Græciâ linguâ loquentem magis sint admirati.

CAP. II. Neque verò hæc Dionysium fugiebant; nam quanto esset sibi ornamento, sentiebat. Quo fiebat, ut uni

a man; besides great riches left *him* by his father, which he had increased by the tyrant's presents. He was intimate with the first Dionysius, no less for his good behaviour, than his relation *to him*. For although the cruelty of Dionysius displeased him, yet he was desirous he should be secure, because of his alliance *with him*, and more upon account of his *relations*. He was assisting *to him* in all his weighty affairs; and the tyrant was much swayed by his advice, unless, in any case, some violent humour of his own interposed. But all the embassies, that were extraordinary, were undertaken by Dion; by discharging which carefully, *and*, managing faithfully, he covered the most cruel name of the tyrant under his own humanity. The Carthaginians admired him *upon his* being sent *thither* by Dionysius, so as they never admired any body, that spoke the Greek tongue, more.

CHAP. II. Nor indeed did these things escape the notice of Dionysius; for he was sensible how great an ornament he was to him; from

huic maximè indulgeret, neque cum secùs diligebat ac filium. Qui quidem, quum Platonem Tarentum venisse fama in Siciliam esset perlata, adolescenti negare non potuit, quin eum accesseretur, quum Dion ejus audiendi cupiditate flagraret. Dedit ergo huic veniam, magnâque cum ambitione Syracusas perduxit. Quem Dion adèò admiratus est, atque adamavit, ut se totum ei traderet. Neque verò minùs Plato delectatus est Dione. Itaque, quum à Dionysio Tyranno crudeliter violatus esset, (quippe quem venundari jussisset) tamen eodem rediit, ejusdem Dionis precibus adductus. Interim in morbum incidit Dionysius; quo cum graviter conflictaretur, quæsit à medicis Dion, quemadmodum se haberet; simulque ab his petit, si fortè majore esset periculo, ut sibi faterentur: Nam velle secum eo colloqui de partiendo regno, quòd sororis suæ filies ex illo natos partem regni putabat de-

whence it was, that he indulged him alone very much, nor did he love him any otherwise, than as *his own* son. Who too, when news was brought into Sicily, that Plato was come to Tarentum, could not deny the young man, but sent for him, seeing Dion was inflamed with a desire of hearing him. Wherefore he granted him the favour, and by great importunity drew him to Syracuse. Whom Dion so much admired and loved, that he gave himself wholly up to him. Nor was Plato less pleased with Dion. Therefore tho' he was cruelly abused by Dionysius the tyrant, (for he had ordered him to be sold) yet he returned to the same place, being prevailed upon by the entreaties of the same Dion. In the mean time Dionysius fell into a distemper, with which when he was grievously handled, Dion enquired of the physicians, how he was; and at the same time desired of them, if perhaps he was in great danger, that they would confess it to him; for he had a mind to talk with him about dividing the kingdom, because he thought his sister's sons by him ought to have a share of the king-

bere habere. Id medici non tacuerunt, et ad Dionysium filium sermonem retulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi cum eo esset Dion potestas, patri soporem medicos dare coëgit: Hoc æger sumpto, somno sopitus, diem obiit supremum.

CAP. III. Tale initium fuit Dionis et Dionysii simultatis; eaque multis rebus aucta est: Sed tamen primis temporibus, aliquandiu simulata inter eos amicitia mansit: Quumqu Dion non desisteret obsecrare Dionysium, ut Platonem Athenis accesserit, et ejus consiliis uteretur: ille, qui in aliquâ re vellet patrem imitari, morem ei gessit; eodemque tempore Philistum historicum Syracusas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno, quàm tyrannidi. Sed de hoc in eo meo libro plura sunt exposita qui de historicis conscriptus est. Plato autem tantùm apud Dionysium auctoritate potuit, valuitque eloquentiâ, ut ei persuade-

dom. The physicians did not conceal that, and carried these words to Dionysius the son. At which being startled, that Dion might not have an opportunity of talking with him, he forced the physicians to give his father a sleeping dose. The sick prince having taken this, being laid fast asleep by it, ended his last day.

CHAP. III. Such was the beginning of the misunderstanding betwixt Dion and Dionysius; and that was increased by many things: But yet at first, for some time, a pretended friendship continued betwixt them. And as Dion did not cease to beg of Dionysius, that he would send for Plato from Athens, and make use of his advice; he, who had a mind to imitate his father in something, gave him his humour; and at the same time brought back Philistus the historian to Syracuse, a man not more a friend to the tyrant, than to tyranny *itself*. But more has been said about him, in that book of mine which was written about the historians. But Plato wrought so much upon Dionysius by his authority, and prevailed so by his eloquence, that he persuaded

rit tyrannidis facere finem libertatemque reddere Syracusanis: à quâ voluntate Philisti consilio deterritus, aliquanto crudelior esse cœpit.

CAP. IV. Qui quidem, quum à Dione se superari videret ingenio, auctoritate, amore populi; verens ne, si eum secum haberet, aliquam occasionem sui daret opprimendi: navem ei triremem dedit, quâ Corinthum deveheretur: ostendens se id utriusque facere causâ, ne, quum inter se timerent, alteruter alterum præoccuparet. Id quum factum multi indignarentur, magnæque esset invidiæ tyrônno, Dionysius omnia, quæ moveri poterant Dionis, in naves imposuit, ad eumque misit. Sic enim existimari volebat, id se non

him to put an end to *his* usurpation, and to restore to the Syracusans *their* liberty; from which intention being dissuaded by the council of Philistus, he began to be something more cruel.

CHAP. IV. Who indeed when he saw himself excelled by Dion in parts, authority, and love of the people, fearing lest, if he kept him with him, he should give *him* some opportunity of ruining him; he gave him a ship with three banks of oars, wherein he might go to (a) Corinth; declaring he did it upon both their accounts, lest, since they were jealous of one another, one of them should trepan the other. As many people were angry at the fact, and it was to the tyrant an occasion of grèat (b) hatred, Dionysius put on board *some* ships all the *substance* of Dion that could be removed, and sent it to him. For he had a mind it should be

(a) Corinth was a famous city in the entrance of Peloponnesus from Achaia

(b) I have several times above translated *invidia* by *hatred*; for so indeed it commonly signifies, a popular odium or hatred; and that sense it visibly has here. This little remark is designed for the benefit of such smatterers in the Latin tongue as may be more disposed to cavil than to learn. I warn them, once, to have a care of meddling, for fear of burning their fingers.

odio hominis, sed suæ salutis fecisse causa. Postea verò quàm audiuit eum in Peloponneso manum comparare, si-bique bellum facere conari, Areten Dionis uxorem alii nuptum dedit, filiumque ejus sic educari jussit, ut indulgendo, turpissimis imbueretur cupiditatibus. Nam puer, priusquam pubes esset; scorta adducebantur: vino epulisque obruebatur, neque ullum tempus sobrius relinquebatur. Is usque eò vitæ statum commutatum ferre non potuit, postquam in patriam rediit pater (namque appositæ erant custodes, qui eum à pristino victu deduce-rent) ut se è superiore parte ædium dejecerit, atque ita interiêrit. Sed illuc revertor.

CAP. V. Postquam Corinthum pervenit Di-

thought, that he had done that, not out of a hatred of the man, but upon account of his own security. But after he heard that he was levying troops in Peloponnesus, and endeavouring to make war upon him, he gave Arete the wife of Dion in marriage to another, and ordered his son to be educated so, that he might, by indulging *him*, be tainted with the most filthy lusts. For (a) whores were brought him, *when but* a boy, before he was of age: He was perfectly overwhelmed with wine and good cheer, nor was any time left him *to be* sober. He could not bear his state of life *when* changed, to that degree, that after his father returned into his country, (for keepers were set over him, to reclaim him from his former way of life) he threw himself from the upper part of a house, and so died. But I return.

CHAP. V. After Dion came to Corinth, and Heraclides

(a) The tyrant seems to have been of opinion, that to debauch him was the greatest mischief he could do him; and so far he was undoubtedly right; because it was better, to be sure, to be hanged, or to be dispatched any way at once, than to lead a life of lewdness and debauchery. But what a comfortable opinion must the brute have had of himself in the mean time, who was as lewd as any body?

on, et eodem perfugit Heraclides, ab eodem expulsus Dionysio, qui præfectus fuerat equitum: omni ratione bellum comparare cœperunt: sed non multum proficiebant, quòd multorum annorum tyrannis magnarum opum putabatur; quam ob causam pauci ad societatem periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion, fretus non tam suis copiis, quàm odio tyranni, maximo animo, duabus onerariis navibus, quinquaginta annorum imperium, munitum quingentis longis navibus, decem equitum, centum peditum millibus, profectus oppugnatum; quod omnibus gentibus admirabile est visum, adeò facile percussit, ut post diem tertium quàm Siciliam attigerat, Syracusas introiêrit. Ex quo intelligi potest, nullum esse imperium tutum, nisi benevolentiam munitum. Eo tempore aberat Dionysius, et in Italiâ classem operiebatur, adversariorum ratus neminem sine magnis copiis ad se venturum: Quæ res eum fefellit;

fled to the same place, being banished by the same Dionysius, who had been commander of the horse, they began to levy war by all *manner of* means: but they advanced but little, because an usurpation of many years *continuance* was thought to be of great strength; for which reason few were brought to a share of the danger. But Dion, trusting not so much to his troops, as the hatred of the tyrant, going to attack a government of fifty years *duration*, defended by five hundred men of war, ten thousand horse, and a hundred thousand foot, with the greatest courage, in two ships of burden only; what appeared wonderful to all nations, he so easily overthrew it, that he entered Syracuse the third day after he had reached Sicily. From which it may be understood, that no government is safe unless secured by the affection of the *subjects*. At that time Dionysius was absent, and waiting for his fleet in Italy, supposing that none of his enemies would come against him without a great force: Which thing deceived him; for Dion curbed the tyrant's pride with those very men

nam Dion iis ipsis, qui sub adversarii fuerant potestate, regios spiritus repressit, totiusque ejus partis Siciliæ potitus est, quæ sub Dionysii potestate fuerat; parique modo urbis Syracusarum, præter arcem et insulam adjunctam oppido; eoque rem perduxit, ut talibus pactionibus pacem tyrannus facere vellet: Siciliam Dion obtineret, Italiam Dionysius, Syracusas Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat Dion.

CAP. VI. Has tam prosperas, tamque inopinitas res consecuta est subita commutatio; quòd fortuna suâ mobilitate, quem paulò antè extulerat, demergere est adorta. Primum in filio, de quo commemoravi supra suam vim exercuit. Nam quum uxorem reduxisset, quæ alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet revocare ad virtutem à perditâ luxuriâ, accepit gravissimum parens vulnus morte filii: deinde orta dissensio est inter eum et Heraclidem: qui Dioni principatum non concedens, factionem

that had been under the dominion of his adversary, and carried all that part of Sicily, which had been under the government of Dionysius; and in like manner the city of Syracuse, except the citadel, and the island joining upon the town; and brought the matter to that, that the tyrant was willing to make peace upon these terms: *That* Dion should have Sicily, Dionysius Italy, and Apollocrates Syracuse, in whom alone Dion had the greatest confidence.

CHAP. VI. A sudden change followed this mighty and unexpected success; because fortune attempted by her fickleness to sink him whom she had raised before. She first of all exerted her violence upon his son, of whom I have made mention above; for, after he had taken his wife again, which had been given to another, and was desirous to recover his son to virtue, from a *state* of desperate luxury, he received as a father a grievous affliction in the death of his son. After that, a difference arose betwixt him and Heraclides; who, not yielding the superiority to Dion, formed a par-

comparavit: Neque enim minus valebat apud optimates, quorum consensu præerat classi, quum Dion exercitum pedestrem teneret. Non tulit hoc animo æquo Dion, et versum illum Homeri retulit ex secunda rhapsodia, in quo hæc sententia est: *Non posse bene geri rempublicam multorum imperiis.* Quod dictum magna invidia consecuta est: Namque aperuisse videbatur, se omnia in suâ potestate esse velle. Hanc ille non lenire obsequio, sed acerbitate opprimere studuit; Heraclidemque, quum Syracusas venisset, interficiendum curavit.

CAP. VII. Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem injectit; nemo enim illo interfecto se

ty: For he was no less powerful amongst the (a) quality, by whose consent he commanded the fleet, whilst Dion had the land army. Dion could not bear this with a patient mind, and repeated that (b) verse of Homer out of the second rhapsody, in which is this sentence, *That a Commonwealth could not be well managed by the government of many.* Which saying a mighty odium followed: For he seemed to have discovered, that he intended, that all things should be under his authority. This he did not endeavour to allay by compliance, but to suppress by severity, and took care to have Heraclides slain, when he came to Syracuse.

CHAP. VII. Which action struck a mighty terror into every body; for nobody thought himself safe, after he

(a) In the commonwealth of Greece, and so of Sicily, which was peopled from Greece, there were commonly two factions; one, of those that were for an absolute Democracy, and the other, of such as were for a sort of an Aristocracy, or for taking the power out of the hands of the vulgar. Of the former party were the common people, the peasants, artisans and tradesmen chiefly: In the latter were generally the gentry, and people of better fashion, which were therefore called *Optimates*.

(b) It is plain by this and what follows, that Dion had no intention of restoring the Syracusans to their liberty, but only that they should change their master.

tutum putabat. Ille autem, adversario remoto, licentiùs eorum bona, quos sciebat adversus se sensisse militibus dispertivit. Quibus divisis, quum quotidiani maximi fierent sumtus, celeriter pecunia deesse cœpit: Neque, quò manus porrigeret, suppetebat, nisi in amicorum possessiones. Id ejusmodi erat, ut quum milites reconciliâsset, amitteret optimates. Quarum rerum curâ frangebatur; et insuetus malè audiendi, non æquo animo ferebat, de se ab iis malè existimari, quorum paulò antè in cœlum fuerat elatus laudibus. Vulgus autem; offensâ in eum militum voluntate, liberius loquebatur, et tyrannum non ferendum dictitabat.

CAP. VIII. Hæc ille intuens, quum, quemadmodum sedaret, nesciret, et quorsum evaderet, timeret; Callicrates quidam, civis Atheniensis, qui simul cum eo ex Peleponneso in Siciliam venerat, homo et calli-

was slain. But he, his enemy being taken off, divided their estates whom he knew to have been in their sentiments against him, to his soldiers very licentiously. Which being distributed, as *his* daily expences were very great, money quickly began to fail *him*: Nor was there any thing to which he could reach his hands, but the possessions of his friends: That was such, that whilst he gained the soldiery, he lost the better party. With the care of which things he was dispirited; and being unaccustomed to hear himself ill spoken of, he bore it not with an easy mind, that he should be ill thought of by those, by whose praises he had been exalted to Heaven a little before. But the common people, the minds of the soldiers being offended at him, spoke more freely, and frequently said that the tyrant was not to be endured.

CHAP. VIII. He seeing these things, as he knew not how to put a stop to them, and was afraid what *the matter* would come to, one Callicrates, a citizen of Athens, who had come together with him from Peloponnesus into Sicily, a subtle fellow, and

dus, et ad fraudem acutus, sine ullâ religione ac fide, adit ad Dionem, et ait eum in magno periculo esse propter offensionem populi, et odium militum: quod nullo modo evitare posset, nisi alicui suorum negotium daret, qui se simularet illi inimicum: quem si invenisset idoneum, faciliè omnium animos cogniturum, adversariosque sublaturum, quod inimici ejus dissidenti suos sensus aperturi forent. Tali consilio probato, excipit has partes ipse Callicrates, et se armat imprudentiâ Dionis. Ad eum interficiendum socios conquirat; adversarios ejus convenit: conjurationem confirmat. Res, multis consociis, quæ gereretur, elata, refertur ad Aristomachen sororem Dionis, uxoremque Areten. Illæ timore perterritæ conveniunt, cujus de periculo timebant. At ille negat à Callicrate fieri sibi insidias: sed illa, quæ agerentur, fieri præcepto suo. Mulieres nihilo seciùs Callicratem in ædem Proserpinæ de-

acute *enough* for the *management of any* fraudulent design, without any religion and honour, goes to Dion, and tells him, that he was in great danger, because of the disaffection of the people, and the hatred of the soldiers, which he could no way avoid, unless he gave a commission to some of his friends, to pretend himself an enemy to him: If he could but find one proper *to his purpose*, he might easily know the minds of them all, and take off his adversaries, because his enemies would discover their sentiments to one disaffected to him. This counsel being approved, Callicrates himself undertakes this business, and arms himself by the imprudence of Dion: He seeks accomplices to kill him; he gives a meeting to his enemies, and completely forms the conspiracy *against him*. The matter which was carrying on, many being privy to it, being blabbed, is carried to Aristomache the sister of Dion, and his wife Arete. They, being alarmed with fear, go to him, for whose danger they were concerned. But he denies that any plot was formed against him by Callicrates; but that those

ducunt, ac jurare cogunt, nihil ab illo periculi fore Dioni. Ille hâc religione non modò ab incepto non deterritus, sed ad maturandum concitatus est, verens ne priùs consilium aperiretur suum, quàm conata perfecisset.

CAP. IX. Hâc mente, proximo die festo, quum conventu se remotum Dion domi teneret, atque in conclavi edito recubuisset, consciis loca munitiora oppidi tradidit: domum custodibus sepsit, à foribus qui non discederent, certos præfecit; navem triremem armatis ornat, Philocratiq; fratri suo tradit, eamque in portu agitari jubet, ut si exercere remiges vellet; cogitans, si fortè consiliis obstitisset fortuna, ut haberet, quò fugeret ad salutem. Suorum autem è numero Zacynthios adolescentes quosdam elegit, cum audacissimos, tum

things, which were doing, were done by his order. The women notwithstanding bring Callicrates into the temple of Proserpine, and oblige him to swear, that there should be no danger to Dion from him. He not only was not deferred from his undertaking by this sacred obligation, but was pushed on to hasten the *execution*, fearing lest his design should be discovered, before he could accomplish what he attempted.

CHAP. IX. With this design, the next holy-day, whilst Dion kept himself retired *far* from the assembly of the people, and was laid down in an upper room, he delivered to *some of* his accomplices *all the* strong parts of the town; he surrounded the house with guards; he placed trusty men that should not depart from the door; he mans a ship with three banks of oars, and delivers it to his brother Philocrates, and orders it to be rowed about in the harbour, as if he had a mind to exercise the rowers; intending, if fortune obstructed his design, to have this to fly to for security. He likewise chose out of the number of his men some

viribus maximis; hisque dat negotium, ut ad Dionem eant inermes, sic ut conveniendi ejus gratiâ viderentur venire. Hi, propter notitiam, sunt intromissi. At illi, ut limen ejus intrârunt, foribus obseratis, in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant: fit strepitus, ad eum ut exaudiri possit foris. Hic, sicut antè sæpe dictum est, quàm invisa sit singularis potentia, et miseranda vita, qui se metui quàm amari malunt, cuivis facilè intellectu fuit. Namque illi ipsi custodes, si propitiâ fuissent voluntate, foribus effractis, servare eum potuissent, quòd illi inermes, telum foris flagitantes, vivum tenebant. Cui quum succurreret nemo, Lyco quidam Syracusanus per fenestras gladium dedit, quo Dion interfectus est.

CAP. X. Confectâ cæde, quum multitudo vi-

(a) Zacynthian youths, both very bold, and of very great strength. And to these he gives orders, to go to Dion unarmed, as if they seemed to come upon the account of speaking with him. These, by reason of their acquaintance *with him*, were let in: but they, as soon as they had entered his door, bolting it, seize him lying on his bed, *and* bind him. A noise was made, so that it might be heard without doors. Here, as has been often said before, it was easy to be understood by any body, how odious arbitrary power is, and how miserable the life *of those*, who choose rather to be feared than loved. For those very guards, if they had been *men* of a favourable disposition *towards him*, by breaking the door, might have saved him, because they being unarmed held him alive, calling *to those* without for a weapon; whom whilst nobody relieved, one Lyco a Syracusan gave them a sword through the window, with which Dion was slain.

CHAP. X. After the murder was committed, when the

(a) Zacynthus is an island on the western coast of Peloponnesus.

sendi gratiâ introi'sset, nonnulli ab insciis pro noxiis conciduntur. Nam celeri rumore dilato, Dioni vim allatam, multi concurrerant quibus tale facinus displicebat. Hi, falsâ suspicione ducti, immerentes, inermes, ut sceleratos occidunt. Hujus de morte ut palam factum est, mirabiliter vulgi immutata est voluntas. Nam qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitârant, eundem liberatorem patriæ tyrannique expulsorem prædicabant. Sic subito misericordia odio successerat, ut eum suo sanguine, si possent, ab Acheronte cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe, celeberrimo loco, elatus publicè, sepulchri monumento donatus est. Diem obiit circiter annos quinquaginta quinque natus; quartum post annum, quàm ex Peloponneso in Siciliam redierat,

people came in to see him, some are slain by *those that were ignorant of the matter*, for the guilty. For a speedy report being spread, that violence had been offered to Dion, many had run together, whom this fact displeased. These, moved by a false suspicion, kill the innocent and unarmed, as if *they had been guilty*. As soon as public notice had been given of his death, the mind of the common people was wonderfully changed. For they who had called him *when alive*, a tyrant, called the same man the deliverer of his country, and the banisher of a tyrant. Thus suddenly had pity succeeded their hatred, that they desired to redeem him with their own blood from hell, if they could. Wherefore being buried at the public expense in the most frequented part of the city, he was honoured with a monument of a sepulchre. He died about fifty-five years old; the fourth year after he had returned out of Peloponnesus into Sicily.

XI.

IPHICRATES,
Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

IPHICRATES, Atheniensis, non tam genere aut magnitudine rerum gestarum, quàm disciplinâ militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solùm ætatis suæ cum primis compararetur, sed ne de maioribus natu quidem quisquam anteponeretur. Multùm verò in bello versatus, sæpe exercitiis præfuit: nusquam culpâ malè rem gessit; semper consilio vicit, tantùmque eo valuit, ut multa in re militari partim nova attulerit, partim meliora fecerit. Namque ille pedestria arma mutavit: quum, ante illum imperatorem maximis clypeis, brevibusque hastis, minutis gladiis uterentur; ille, è contrario, Peltam pro Parmâ fecit, à quo postea Peltastæ pedites appellabantur, ut ad motus concursusque essent le-

XI.

IPHICRATES,
The Athenian.

CHAP. I.

IPHICRATES, the Athenian, was not so famous for his family, or the greatness of the things performed *by him*, as his military discipline. For he was such a general, that he might not only be compared with the greatest of his age, but none of the old generals could indeed be preferred before him. But having been much in war, he oftentimes commanded armies: he never managed his business ill by *his own* fault; he always excelled in contrivance, and was so able that way, that he partly invented many new things in the military art, partly made things better. For he changed the foot arms: when, before he *was* general, they made use of very great shields, short spears, and little swords; he, on the contrary, made the Pelta instead of the Parma, from which the foot were afterwards called Peltastæ, that they might be nimbler for motion and en-

viores. Hastæ modum duplicavit, gladios longiores fecit. Idem genus loricarum mutavit, et pro ferreis atque æneis lineas dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit; nam pondere detracto, quod æquè corpus tegetet, et leve esset, curavit.

CAP. II. Bellum cum Thracibus gessit; Seuthen, socium Atheniensium, in regnum restituit. Apud Corinthum tantâ severitate exercitui præfuit, ut nullæ unquam in Græciâ. neque exercitatiores copiæ, neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci; in eamque consuetudinem adduxit, ut quum prælii signum ab imperatore esset datum, sine ducis operâ sic ordinatæ consisterent, ut singuli à peritissimo imperatore dispositi viderentur. Hoc exercitu Moram Lacedæmoniorum inter-

gaging. He doubled the length of the spear, and made the swords longer. The same man changed the kind of *their* coats of mail, and gave *them* linen ones instead of iron and brazen ones; by which act he rendered the soldiers more light; for the weight of *their coats* being lessened, he provided what would equally secure the body, and was light.

CHAP. II. He carried on a war with the Thracians; restored Seuthes, the ally of the Athenians, to his kingdom. He commanded the army at Corinth with so much strictness, that no troops were ever better exercised in Greece, or more obedient to their general; and he brought them to that custom, that when the signal of battle was given by the general, they would stand so regularly drawn up, that they each of them seemed to have been posted by the most skillful commander. With this army he cut off the (a) Mora of the Lacedæmonians; which was mightily celebrated

(a) A choice body of men amongst the Lacedæmonians, concerning the number of which authors are not agreed, some making them to be five hundred, some six, and some eight.

cepit; quod maxime totâ celebratum est Græciâ. Iterum eodem bello omnes copias eorum fugavit: quo facto magnam adeptus est gloriam. Quum Artaxerxes Ægyptio regi bellum inferre voluisset, Iphicratem ab Atheniensibus petivit ducem, quem præficeret exercitui conductio, cujus numerus duodecim millium fuit. Quem quidem sic omni disciplina militari erudit, ut quemadmodum quondam Fabiani, milites Romani appellati sunt, sic Iphicratenses apud Græcos in summâ laude fuerint. Idem subsidio Lacedæmoniis profectus, Epaminondæ retardavit impetum: Nam nisi ejus adventus appropinquasset, non prius Thebani Spartâ abscississent, quàm captam incendio delèssent.

CAP. III. Fuit autem et animo magno et corpore, imperatoriâque

throughout all Greece. He routed all their forces again in the same war; by which action he acquired great glory. When Artaxerxes was resolved to make war upon the king of Egypt, he desired Iphicrates, *for his* general of the Athenians, that he might place him at the head of his army of mercenaries, the number of which was twelve thousand; which indeed he so instructed in all military discipline, that as formerly the Roman soldiers were called (a) Fabians, so the Iphicratensians among the Greeks were in the highest reputation. The same *man*, going to the relief of the Lacedæmonians, stopped the progress of Epaminondas, for unless his coming had been near at hand, the Thebans would not have departed from Sparta before they had taken *and* destroyed it by fire.

CHAP. III. He was too a man of a great mind and body, and the appearance of a

(a) If the Roman soldiers were used to be called Fabians, which is an account given by none but our author, that I know of, it was occasioned by the gallantry of the Fabian family, that undertook to manage the war against the Veientes by themselves, and were cut off 300 of them in one battle, about 475 years before Christ.

formâ; ut ipso aspectu cuius inijceret admirationem sui: sed in labore remissus nimis, parumque patiens, ut Theopompus memoriæ prodidit: bonus verò civis, fideque magnâ; quod cum in aliis rebus declaraverit, tum maximè in Amyntæ Macedonis liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice mater Perdicæ et Philippi, cum his duobus liberis, Amyntâ mortuo, ad Iphicratem confugit, ejusque opibus defensa est. Vixit ad senectutem, placatis in se suorum civium animis. Causam capitis semel dixit bello sociali simul cum Timotheo, eoque judicio est absolutus. Mnesthea filium reliquit ex Thressâ natum, Coti regis filiâ. Is quum interrogaretur, utrum pluris patrem matremve faceret; Matrem, inquit. Id quum omnibus mirum videretur; At ille, meritò, inquit, facio; nam pater, quantum in se fuit, Thracem me

general, that by his very aspect he would have struck any one with admiration, but in application to business too remiss, and little able to endure hardship, as Theopompus has left upon record; but a good citizen, and of great honour: which he shewed both in other things, and especially in protecting the children of Amyntas the Macedonian: For Eurydice the mother of Perdiccas and Philip, with those two boys, *after* Amyntas *was* dead, fled to Iphicrates, and was secured by his power. He lived to a *good* old age, with the minds of his countrymen well affected towards him. Once he was tried for his life, in the social war, (a) together with Timothy, and was acquitted in that trial. He left a son, *by name* Mnestheus, born of a Thracian *lady*, the daughter of king Cotus. He being asked, whether he valued his father or his mother more, said, his mother: As that appeared strange to every body; but, says he, I do it for good reason; for my father, as much as lay in him,

(a) This was carried on by the Byzantians, Coans, Chians, Rhodians, and Mausolus prince of Caria, against the Athenians, about 360 years before Christ.

genuit; contrâ, mater Atheniensem. begot me a Thracian; on the other hand, my mother *made* me an Athenian, *as much as lay in her*.

XII.

CHABRIAS,
Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

CHABRIAS Atheniensis: Hic quoquè in summis habitus est ducibus, resque multas memoriâ dignas gessit. Sed ex his elucet maximè inventum ejus in prælio quod apud Thebas fecit, quum Bœotiis subsidio venisset. Namque in eo, victoriâ fidente summo duce Agesilao, fugatis jam ab eo conductitiis catervis, reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere; obnixoque genu scuto, projectâque hastâ, impetum excipere hostium docuit. Id novum Agesilaus intuens, pro-

XII.

CHABRIAS,
The Athenian.

CHAP. I.

CHABRIAS the Athenian. He too was reckoned amongst the greatest generals, and performed many things worthy of memory. But of these, his invention in the battle which he fought at Thebes, when he went to the relief of the Bœotians, is the most famous. For in that *battle*, that great commander Agesilaus making himself sure of the victory, the hired troops being now routed by him, he forbade the rest of the (a) Phalanx to quit their ground; and taught them to receive the enemy's attack, with their knee rested against their shield, and their spear

(a) Phalanx properly signifies a body of Macedonian foot, sixteen thousand in number, drawn up in very close order, armed with shield and spear. But the word was used at last to signify any body of foot in close array, as it is here.

gedi non est ausus, suosque jam incurrentes tubâ revocavit. Hoc usque eò in Graciâ famâ celebratum est, ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quæ publicè ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est. Ex quo factum est, ut postea athletæ, cæteri-que artifices, his statibus in statu is ponendis uterentur, in quibus victoriam essent adepti.

CAP. II. Chabrias autem multa in Europâ bella administravit, quum dux Atheniensium esset: multa in Ægypto suâ sponte gessit; nam Nectanebum adjutum profectus, regnum ei constituit. Fecit idem Cypri; sed publicè ab Atheniensibus Evagoræ adjutor datus; neque priùs inde decessit, quàm totam insulam bello devinceret: quâ ex re Athenienses magnam gloriam sunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Ægyptios et Persas conflatum est: et Athenienses cum Artaxerxe soci-

held out. Agesilaus, observing that new *contrivance*, durst not advance, and called off his *men* now rushing forward by *sound* of trumpet. This was so much celebrated by fame in Greece, that Chabrias had a fancy *to have* the statue made for him in that posture, which was erected for him at the public charge by the Athenians in the forum. From whence it was, that afterwards wrestlers, and other artists, in the erecting of their statue, made use of those postures in which they had gotten a victory.

CHAP. II. Chabrias likewise carried on many wars in Europe, when he was general of the Athenians. He carried on many in Egypt of his own accord; for going to assist Nectanebus, he secured his kingdom to him. He did the same at Cyprus; but being given by the government of the Athenians as an assistant to Evagoras; nor did he depart from thence, before he had conquered the whole island in the war: From which thing the Athenians reaped a great deal of glory. In the mean time a war was commenced betwixt the Egyptians and the Persians; and the Athenians had an alliance

etatem habebant; Lacedæmonii cum Ægyptiis, à quibus magnas prædas Agesilaus rex eorum faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, quum in re nullâ Agesilao cederet, suâ sponte eos adiutum profectus, Ægyptiæ classi præfuit, pedestribus copiis Agesilaus.

CAP. III. Tum præfecti regis Persiæ legatos miserunt Athenas, questum, quòd Chabrias adversum regem bellum gereret cum Ægyptiis. Athenienses diem certam Chabriæ præstiterunt, quam ante, domum nisi redisset capitis se illum damnaturos denunciarunt. Hoc ille nuncio Athenas rediit, neque ibi diutius est moratus, quàm fuit necesse. Non enim libenter erat ante oculos civium suorum, quòd et vivebat lautè, et indulgebat sibi liberaliùs, quàm ut invidiam vulgi posset effugere. Est enim hoc commune vitium in magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes sit, et libenter de iis detrahant, quos eminare videant altiùs: ne-

with Artaxerxes; the Lacedæmonians with the Egyptians, from whom Agesilaus their king got abundance of plunder. Chabrias seeing that, as he yielded in nothing to Agesilaus, going of his own accord to assist them, commanded the Egyptian fleet, Agesilaus the land forces.

CHAP. III. Upon that, the king of Persia's commanders sent messengers to Athens, to complain, that Chabrias made war with the Egyptians against the king. The Athenians fixed Chabrias a certain day, before which if he did not return home they declared they would condemn him to die. Upon this message he returned to Athens, nor did he stay there longer than was necessary. For he was not very willingly under the eyes of his countrymen, because he both lived very handsomely, and indulged himself more freely, than that he could *possibly* escape the odium of the vulgar: For this is a common fault in great and free states, that popular hatred is the attendant of glory; and they willingly take from those whom they see tower above *other people*; nor do the poor look

que animo æquo pauperes alienam opulentium intuentur fortunam. Itaque Chabrias, quoad ei licebat, plurimum aberat. Neque verò solus ille aberat Athenis libenter, sed omnes ferè principes fecerunt idem; quòd tantum se ab invidia putabant futuros, quantum à conspectu suorum recessissent. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thraciâ, Timotheus Lesbi, Chares in Sigæo. Dissimilis quidem Chares horum et factis et moribus; sed tamen Athenis et honoratus et potens.

CAP. IV. Chabrias autem periit bello sociali, tali modo. Oppugnabant Athenienses Chium: erat in classe Chabrias privatus, sed omnes, qui in magistratu erant, auctoritate antebat: eumque magis milites, quàm qui præerant, aspiciebant: quæ res ei maturavit mortem; nam dum primus studet por-

upon the fortune of the wealthy with an easy mind: Wherefore Chabrias, as far as was possible for him, was very much away. Nor was he alone gladly absent from Athens, but almost all the great men did the same; because they thought they should be just so far removed from popular hatred as they retired from the sight of their countrymen. Wherefore Conon lived very much at Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thrace, Timotheus at Lesbos, Chares in (a) Sigeum. Chares was unlike them indeed, both in his actions and manners, but yet he was both honoured and powerful at Athens.

CHAP. IV. Chabrias lost his life in the social war, in this manner. The Athenians were assaulting (b) Chius: Chabrias was on board the fleet without any command, but he exceeded all those that were in commission, in authority; and the soldiers more regarded him, than those that commanded them: which thing hastened his death for him: For whilst he

(a) A town of Troas near the Hellespont.

(b) An island of the Ægean sea, on the coast of Ionia.

tum intrare, et gubernatorem jubet eò dirigere navem, ipse sibi perniciæ fuit. Quum enim eò penetrâset, cæteræ non sunt secutæ. Quo facto circumfusus hostium concursu, quum fortissimè pugnaret, ævis rostro percussa, cæpit sidere. Hinc quum refugere posset, si in mare dejecisset; quod suberat classis Atheniensium, quæ exciperet natantem; perire maluit, quàm, armis abjectis, navem relinquere, in quâ fuerat vectus. Id cæteri facere noluerunt, qui nando in tutum pervenerunt. At ille, præstare honestam mortem existimans turpi vitæ, cominus pugnans telis hostium interfectus est.

endeavours to enter the harbour first, and orders the master to steer the ship thither, he was his own ruin; for after he had made his way into it, the rest did not follow. Upon which, being surrounded by a concourse of the enemy, whilst he fought very bravely, his ship, being struck with a (a) rostrum, began to sink. Though he might have escaped from thence, if he would have thrown himself into the sea, because the fleet of the Athenians was at hand, to have taken him up as he swam; he chose rather to perish, than throwing away his arms, to quit the ship in which he had sailed. The rest would not do that, who came off safe by swimming. But he, thinking an honourable death better than a scandalous life, was slain with the enemies' weapons, fighting hand to hand with them.

(a) I have used the Latin word, because we have none in our language proper for the purpose. It is here put for a strong, sharp iron spike, with which the prows of the *longæ naues*, or men of war, were armed, in order to sink one another in sea-fights.

XIII.

TIMOTHEUS,
Cononis filius, Athenien-
sis.

CAP. I

TIMOTHEUS Cononis filius, Atheniensis. Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus, neque minus civitatis regendæ. Multa hujus sunt præclarè facta, sed hæc maxime illustria. Olynthios et Byzantios bello subegit: Samum cepit, in quâ oppugnanda, superiori bello, Athenienses mille et ducenta talenta consumpserant. Hanc ille sine ullâ publicâ impensâ populo restituit. Adversus Cotyn bellâ gessit, ab eoque mille et ducenta talenta prædæ in publicum detulit. Cyzicum obsidione liberavit.

XIII.

TIMOTHEUS,
The son of Conon, the Athe-
nian.

CHAP. I.

TIMOTHEUS was the son of Conon the Athenian. He increased the glory received from his father, by *his* many excellent qualities; for he was eloquent, active, laborious, skilled in military affairs, and no less in the government of the state. There are a great many famous actions of his *upon record*, but these the most illustrious. He subdued the (a) Olynthians and Byzantians in war; and took Samus, in the assaulting of which the Athenians in the former war, had spent a thousand and two hundred talents. This he restored to the people, without any public charge. He carried on a war against (b) Cotys, and brought from him a thousand two hundred talents of plunder into the pub-

(a) Olynthus was a city of Macedonia, not far from the Thracian Bay.

(b) Cotys was a king of Thrace.

Ariobarzani simul cum Agesilao auxilio profectus est: à quo, quum Laco pecuniam numeratam accepisset, ille cives suos agro atque urbibus augeri maluit, quàm id sumere cujus partem domum suam ferre posset. Itaque accepit Erichthonem et Sestum.

lic treasury. He delivered (a) Cyzicus from a siege. He went along with Agesilaus to the assistance of (b) Ariobarzanes; from whom, whilst the Lacedæmonian received ready cash, he chose rather *to have* his countrymen enriched with lands and cities, than take that, part of which he might carry to his own home: and accordingly he received Erichthon and (c) Sestus.

CAP. II. Idem classi præfectus circumvehens Peloponnesum, Laconicam populatus, classem eorum fugavit. Corcyram subimperium Atheniensium redegit; sociosque idem adjunxit Epirotas, Acharnanas, Chaonas, omnesque eas gentes quæ mare illud adjacent. Quo facto, Lacedæmonii de diutinâ contentione destiterunt, et sua sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum concesserunt, pacemque his legi-

CHAP. II. The same *man* being admiral of the fleet, and sailing round Peloponnesus, having laid waste (d) Laconia, defeated their fleet. He reduced Corcyra under the dominion of the Athenians; and joined *with them* as allies the Epirotians, the (e) Acharnanians, the (f) Chaonians, and all those nations which lie upon that sea. After which, the Lacedæmonians desisted from their long dispute, and, of their own accord, yielded up the command at sea to the Athenians, and made a peace up-

(a) Cyzicus was a town of Asia Minor upon the Propontis.

(b) One of the king of Persia's viceroys in Asia Minor.

(c) A town of the Thracian Chersonese upon the Hellespont.

(d) The territory of Sparta in the south parts of Peloponnesus.

(e) Acharnania was in the west of Achaia, joining upon Epire.

(f) The Chaonians were a people of Epire.

bus constituerunt: ut Athenienses mari duces essent. Quæ victoria tantæ fuit Atticis lætitiæ, ut tum primum aræ PACI publicæ sint factæ, eique deæ pulvinar sit institutum. Cujus laudis ut memoria maneret, Timotheo publicè statuam in foro posuerunt: qui honos huic uni ante hoc tempus contigit, ut quum patri populus statuam posuisset, filio quoquè daret. Sic juxta posita recens filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

CAP. III. Hic quum esset magno natu, et magistratus gerere desiisset, bello Athenienses undique premi sunt cæpti. Defecerat Samus, descierat Hellespontus, Philippus, jam tunc valens Macedo, multa moliebatur: cui oppositus Chares quum esset, non satis in eo

on these terms; that the Athenians should be commanders at sea. Which victory was *the cause of* so much joy to the Athenians, that then first *of all* public altars were erected to PEACE; and a (a) bed ordered for that goddess. And that the memory of this glorious action might remain, they erected a statue to Timothy in the forum at the public charge. Which honour happened to him alone at that time, that after the people had erected a statue to the father, they should give one to the son too. Thus the fresh *statue* of the son, placed nigh the other's revived the old memory of the father's.

CHAP. III. When he was now old and had given over bearing offices, the Athenians began to be distressed in war on all hands. Samus had revolted; the Hellespont had left them; Philip the Macedonian, being then strong, attempted many things: Against whom as Chares was employed, *and* it was thought there was not security enough

(a) It was usual with the Greeks and Romans to have rich beds set up in the temples of their gods, upon which their images were placed in their festivals.

præsidii putabatur; fit Mnestheus prætor, filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei, et ut ad bellum proficiscatur, decernitur. Huic in consilium dantur duo usu et sapientiâ præstantes quorum consilio uteretur, pater et socer: quòd in his tanta erat auctoritas, ut magna spes esset, per eos amissa posse recuperari. Hi quum Samum profecti essent, et eodem Chares, eorum adventu cognito, cum suis copiis proficisceretur, ne quid se absente gestum videretur; accidit, quum ad insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oriretur; quam evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati, suam classem suppresserunt. At ille, temerariâ usum ratione, non cessit majorum natu auctoritati; et, ut in sua manu esset fortuna, quo contendere, pervenit, eòdemque ut sequerentur, ad Ti-

in him, Mnestheus is made commander, the son of Iphicrates, son-in-law of Timothy, and a decree is passed, that he should go to the war. Two exceeding in experience and wisdom, are given him to (a) advise with, his father and his father-in-law: Because there was so great authority in them, that there were great hopes, that what had been lost might be recovered by them. After these were come to Samus, and Chares, having known of their coming, was going to the same place with his forces, lest any thing should seem to be done in his absence; it happened, as they were approaching the island, that a great storm arose; which the two old commanders, thinking it convenient to avoid, stopped their fleet; but he, taking a rash course, did not yield to the authority of his elders, and as if fortune had been in his power, came to the place he had steered for, and sent a messenger to Timothy and Iphicrates to

(a) The words, *quorum consilio uteretur*, seem to have been put in the margin by somebody, as a gloss upon the words *in consilium*; and at last, by some careless transcriber of books taken into the text; for they are wholly needless.

motheum et Iphicratem nuncium misit. Hinc malè re gestâ, compluribus amissis navibus, eodem, unde erat profectus, se recepit, literasque Athenas publicè misit, sibi proclive fuisse, Samum capere nisi à Timotheo et Iphicrate desertus esset. Ob eam rem in crimen vocabantur. Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam potentiae, domum revocat: accusantur proditionis. Hoc judicio damnatur Timotheus, lisque ejus aestimatur centum talentis. Ille, odio ingratae civitatis coactus, Chalcidem se contulit.

CAP. IV. Hujus post mortem, quum populum judicii sui pœniteret, mulctæ novem partes detraxit, et decem talenta Cononem filium ejus, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam, jussit dare. In quò fortunæ varietas est animadvertenda: Nam quos avus Conon muros ex hostium prædâ patriæ restituerat, eosdem nepos cum summâ ignominiâ familiæ,

follow him to the same place. Upon this, his business being ill managed, *and* several ships being lost, he betook himself to the same place from whence he had come, and sent letters to Athens to the government, that it had been an easy matter for him to take Samus, if he had not been deserted by Timothy and Iphicrates. They were called to an account for that matter. The people being violent, suspicious, fickle, *all* against them, envious also of their power, sent for them home; they are impeached of treason; Timothy is condemned in this trial, and his fine set at an hundred talents. He, forced by the hatred of the ungrateful city, betook himself to Chalcis.

CHAP. IV. After his death, the people being sorry for their sentence on him, took off nine parts of the fine, and ordered his son Conon to give ten talents, to repair a certain part of the wall: In which a variety of fortune was observed: For the grandson was obliged with great disgrace to his family, out of his own estate, to repair the same walls which his grandfather Conon had rebuilt for his country out of the plun-

ex suâ re familiari reficere coactus est. Timothei autem moderatæ, sapientisque vitæ, quum complura possumus proferre testimonia, uno erimus contenti, quòd ex eo facillè conjici poterit, quàm charus suis fuerit. Quum Athenis adolescentulus causam diceret, non solum amici privatique hospites ad eum defendendum convenerunt, sed etiam in eis Jason tyrannus, qui illo tempore fuit omnium potentissimus. Hic, quum in patriâ sine satellitibus se tutum non arbitraretur, Athenas sine ullo præsidio venit; tantique hospitem fecit, ut mallet se capitis periculum adire, quàm Timotheo, de famâ dimicanti, deesse. Hunc adversus tamen Timotheus postea, populi jussu, bellum gessit: Patriæ enim sanctiora jura, quàm hospitii, esse duxit. Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Atheniensium; Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei; neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux illâ urbe fuit dignus memoriâ.

der of *its* enemies. But tho' we could produce a great many proofs of the moderate and wise life of Timothy, we will be content with one, because it may be easily conjectured from thence, how dear he was to his *countrymen*. When, in his youth, he was *upon a certain occasion* brought upon his trial at Athens, not only his friends and private hosts met to defend him, but likewise amongst them, Jason a prince of *Thessaly*, who at that time was the most powerful of all *others*. He, tho' he thought himself not safe in his own country without guards, came to Athens without any guard; and valued his friend so much, that he chose rather to run the hazard of his life than be wanting to Timothy, *now* struggling for his honour. Yet Timothy carried on a war against him afterwards by the order of the people: For he reckoned the rights of his country more sacred than *those* of friendship. This was the last age of the Athenian generals; i. e. *the age* of Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timothy: neither was there any general in that city worth mentioning after their death.

XIV.

DATAMES.

CAP. I.

VENIO nunc ad fortissimum virum, maximeque consilii, omnium barbarorum, exceptis duobus Carthaginiensibus, Hamilcare et Hannibale. De quo hoc plura referemus, quod et obscuriora sunt ejus gesta pleraque, et ea, quæ prosperè ei cesserunt, non magnitudine copiarum, sed consilii, quod tum omnes superabat, acciderunt. Quorum nisi ratio explicata fuerit, res apparere non poterunt. Datames patre Camissare, natione Care; matre Scythissæ natus. Primum militum numero fuit apud Artaxerxem eorum qui regiam tuebantur. Pater ejus Camissares, quod et manu fortis, et bello strenuus, et regi multis locis fidelis erat reperiens, habuit provinciam Ciliciæ juxta Cappadociam, quam incolunt Leucosyri. Data-

XIV.

DATAMES.

CHAP. I.

I COME now to the bravest man, and a man of the greatest conduct, of all the Barbarians; except the two Carthaginians, Hamilcar and Hannibal. Concerning whom I shall say the more, because most of his actions are somewhat obscure, and the things that succeeded well with him were brought about, not by the greatness of force, but conduct, in which he exceeded all men at that time: the manner of which unless it be declared, the things *themselves* cannot appear. Datames *was* come of a father by *name* Camissares, *and* by nation a Carian; of a mother *that was* a Scythian. He was first of all one of those soldiers under Artaxerxes, who defended the palace. His father Camissares, because he had been found brave and active in war, and faithful to the king, upon many occasions, had the province of Cilicia, near Cappadocia, which the Leucosyrians inhabit. Da-

mes militare munus fungens, primùm qualis esset aperuit, bello quod rex adversus Cadusios gessit: Namque hic, multis millibus hostium et regionum interfectis, magni fuit ejus opera. Quo factum est, ut quum in eo bello cecidisset Camissares, paterna ei traderetur provincia.

CAP. II. Pari se virtute postea præbuit, quum Autophradates jussu regis bello persequeretur eos, qui defece- rant: Namque ejus opera hostes, quum castra jam intrassent, profligati sunt, exercitusque reliquus conservatus regis est. Quâ ex re majoribus rebus præesse cœpit. Erat eo tempore Thyus, dynastes Paphlagoniæ, antiquo genere natus, à Pylæmene illo, quem Homerus Troico bello à Patroclo interfectum ait. Is regi dicto audiens non erat; quam ob causam bello eum persequi constituit, eique rei præ-

tames following the business of a soldier, first discovered what he was, in the war which the king carried on against the Cadusians: For here, after a great many thousands of the enemies *and* the king's *men* were slain, his service was of great *account*. For which *reason* it was, that Camissares having fallen in that war, his father's province was given him.

CHAP. II. He afterwards behaved himself with the like gallantry, when Autophradates, by the king's order, fell upon those by war who had revolted: For by his means the enemies, after they had now entered the camp, were routed, and the rest of the king's army was saved. After which thing he began to command in greater affairs. Thyus at that time was prince of (a) Paphlagonia, of an ancient family, descended from that Pylæmenes, who, Homer says, was slain by Patroclus in the Trojan war. He was not obedient to the king; for which reason he resolved to fall upon him in war, and placed Datames

(a) Paphlagonia was a country in Asia Minor, bordering upon the Euxine sea.

fecit Datamen, propinquum Paphlagonis; namque ex fratre et sorore erant nati. Quam ob causam Datames omnia primùm experiri voluit, ut sine armis propinquum ad officium reduceret. Ad quem quum venisset sine præsidio, quod ab amico nullas vereretur insidias, penè interiit. Nam Thyus eum clam interficere voluit. Erat mater cum Datame amita Paphlagonis: ea, quid ageretur, rescit, filiumque monuit. Ille fugâ periculum evitavit. bellumque indixit Thyo. In quo quum ab Ariobarzane, præfecto Lydiæ et Ioniæ, totiusque Phrygiæ, desertus esset, nihilo segniùs perseveravit, vivumque Thyum cepit, cum uxore et liberis.

CAP. III. Cujus facti ne priùs fama ad regem, quàm ipse perveniret, dedit operam. Itaque omnibus insciis, eò ubi erat rex, venit; posteroque die Thyum, hominem maximi corporis, terribilique facie, quod et niger, et capillo longo, barbâque erat prolixâ,

over that affair, a relation of the Paphlagonian; for they were brother's and sister's children. For which reason Datames had a mind to try all things first, to bring back his relation to his duty without arms. To whom when he was come without any guard, because he feared no treachery from a friend, he had like to have lost his life. For Thyus designed to have killed him privately. His mother was with Datames, the aunt of the Paphlagonian; she understood what was doing and warned her son of it. He avoided the danger by flight, and proclaimed war against Thyus; in which though he was deserted by Ariobarzanes, the governor of Lydia, and Ionia, and all Phrygia, he persisted nevertheless vigorously, and took Thyus alive, with his wife and children.

CHAP. III. The fame of which fact he did his endeavour should not come to the king before himself. Wherefore he came to the place where the king was, whilst all people were ignorant of it; and the day after clothed Thyus, a man of huge body, and terrible countenance, because he was both black and

optimâ veste contextit, quam satrapæ regii genere consueverant. Ornavit etiam torque, atque armillis aureis, cæteroque regio cultu. Ipse agresti, duplicique, amiculo circumdatus, hirtâque tunicâ, gerens in capite galeam venatoriâ, dextrâ manu clavam, sinistrâ copulam, quâ vinctum ante se Thyum agebat, ut si feram bestiam captam duceret. Quem quum omnes prospicerent, propter novitatem ornatûs ignotamque formam, ob eamque rem magnus esset concursus, fuit non nemo qui agnosceret Thyum, regique nunciaret. Primo non accreditit: Itaque Pharnabazum misit exploratum; à quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim admitti jussit, magnopere delectatus cum facto, tum ornatu: in primis, quòd nobilis rex in potestatem inopinanti venerat. Itaque magnificè Datamen donatum ad exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur, duce Pharnabazo et Tithrauste, ad bellum Ægyptium, parique eum

had long hair, and a long beard, in a fine robe, which the king's viceroys used to wear. He dressed him up likewise in a chain and bracelets of gold and other royal apparel. He being clad in a rustic coat double, with a coarse tunick, wearing a hunter's cap upon his head, *and having* in his right hand a club, in his left a chain, in which he drove Thyus bound before him, as if he was carrying a wild beast *which he had* taken. Whom whilst all people gazed at, because of the oddness of the dress, and for that reason a great crowd was gathered *about him*, there was somebody who knew Thyus, and told the king. At first he did not believe it: wherefore he sent Pharnabazus to enquire; from whom, as soon as he understood the thing done, he ordered him immediately to be admitted, *and was* mightily pleased both with the fact, and the dress; especially that a noble king was come into his possession, *whilst he was* unaware of it. Wherefore he sent Datames nobly presented to the army which was then raising under the generals Pharnabazus and Tithraustes, for the Egyptian

atque illos imperio esse jussit. Postea verò quàm Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi summa imperii tradita est.

CAP. IV. Hic quum maximo studio compararet exercitum, Ægyptumque proficisci pararet, subito à rege literæ sunt ei missæ, ut Aspin aggrediretur, qui Cataoniam tenebat; quæ gens jacet supra Ciliciam, confinis Cappadociæ. Namque Aspis saltuosam regionem, castellisque munitam incolens, non solum imperio regis non parebat, sed etiam finitimas regiones vexabat, et, quæ regi portarentur, abripiebat. Datames, etsi longè aberat ab his regionibus, et à majore re abstrahebatur, tamen regis voluntati morem gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis sed viris fortibus navem conscendit; existimans, id quod accidit, facilius se imprudentem et imparatum parvâ manu op-

war, and ordered him to be in the same command as they; but after the king recalled Pharnabazus, the chief direction of the war was delivered to him.

CHAP. IV. Whilst he was raising an army with the utmost application, and was preparing to march for Egypt, a letter was suddenly sent him by the king, to attack Aspis, who held (a) Cataonia; which nation lies above Cilicia, bordering upon Cappadocia. For Aspis, inhabiting a woody country, and fortified with castles, did not only disobey the king's authority, but likewise harassed the neighbouring countries, and intercepted what was carried *that way* for the king. Datames, though he was a great way from those parts, and was taken from a greater matter, yet thought it necessary to pay obedience to the king's pleasure. Wherefore he goes aboard a ship with a few but stout men, thinking that, which fell out, that he might more easily master him, unaware *of him*, and unprepared,

(a) Cataonia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, are all provinces in the east parts of Asia Minor.

pressurum quàm paratum quamvis magno exercitu. Hâc delatus, in Ciliciam egressus, inde dies noctesque iter faciens, Taurum transit, eoque quò studuerat, venit. Quærit quibus locis sit Aspis; cognoscit haud longè abesse, profectumque eum venatum: Quem dum speculatur, adventus ejus causa cognoscitur. Pisidas cum iis quos secum habebat, ad resistendum Aspis comparat: Id Datames ubi audit, arma capit, suos sequi jubet. Ipse equo concitato ad hostem vehitur; quem procul Aspis conspiciens ad se ferentem, pertimescit; atque à conatu resistendi deterritus sese dedit. Hunc Datames vinctum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridati.

CAP. V. Hæc dum geruntur, Artaxerxes reminiscens à quanto bello ad quam parvarem principem ducum misisset, se ipse repre-

with a small force, than prepared *for him*, with any army how great soever. Arriving in this *ship* in Cilicia, and landing, making his march night and day, he passed Taurus, and came to the *place* which he had intended for. He enquires in what parts Aspis was: He understands he was not far off, and was gone a hunting: Whom whilst he lies in wait for, the reason of his coming is known. Aspis prepares the (a) Pisidians, and those he had with him, for a resistance. When Datames heard that, he takes arms, and orders his men to follow him. He, putting on his horse, rides towards the enemy; whom Aspis seeing at a distance coming towards him, affrighted and deterred from his attempt of resisting, surrenders himself. Datames delivers him bound to Mithridates, to be led to the king.

CHAP. V. Whilst these things are doing, Artaxerxes considering from how great a war, to what an inconsiderable business, he had sent the greatest of his generals,

(a) Pisidia is a country of Asia Minor beyond Caria, bordering upon Lycia and Pamphylia.

hendit, et nuncium ad exercitum Acen misit, quod nondum Datamen profectum, putabat, qui ei diceret, ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic, priusquam perveniret, quo erat profectus, in itinere convenit, qui Aspim ducebant. Quâ celeritate quum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames consecutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum exceperat, quod illum unum pluris, quàm se omnes, fieri videbant: Quo facto; cuncti ad eum opprimendum consenserunt. Hæc Pandates, gazæ custos regiæ, amicus Datami, per scripta ei mittit: In quibus docet, eum magno fore periculo, si quid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adversi accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem regum, ut casus adversus hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunæ suæ: Quo facillè fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè gestæ nuncientur. Illum

blamed himself *for it*, and dispatches away a messenger to the army to (a) Ace, because he thought Datames was not yet gone, to tell him that he should not depart from the army. He, before he came whither he was going, met *those* on the road that were carrying Aspis. With which expedition whilst Datames gained the great good-will of the king, he met with no less envy from the courtiers, because they saw, that he alone was more valued than them all: Upon which they all agree together to ruin him. Pandates, the keeper of the king's treasure, a friend to Datames, sends him these things in writing: In which he informs him, that he would be in great danger, if any ill success happened whilst he commanded in Egypt. For that was the custom of kings, to impute all unfortunate events to men, *but* lucky ones to their own fortune: from whence it easily came about, that they were soon persuaded to the ruin of those under whose conduct matters were said to be ill managed. He would

(a) A city of Phœnicia.

hoc majore fore discrimine quod quibus rex maximè obediat, eos habeat inimicissimos. Talibus ille literis cognitis, quum jam ad exercitum Acen venisset, quòd non ignorabat ea vere scripta, desciscere à rege constituit. Neque tamen quicquam fecit, quod fide suâ esset indignum: Nam Androcles Magnetem exercitui præfecit. Ipse cum suis in Cappadociam discedit, conjunctamque huic Paphlagoniam occupat: celans quâ voluntate esset in regem, clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas suis tueri tradit.

CAP. VI. Sed hæc propter hyemale tempus minùs prosperè succedebant. Audit Pisidias quasdam copias adversus se parare: filium eò Aridæum cum exercitu mittit; cadit in prælio adolescens: Proficiscitur eò pater non ita cum magnâ manu, celans quantum vulnus accepisset, quòd priùs ad hostem pervenire cupiebat, quàm de malè re

be in so much the greater danger, because he had those his bitter enemies, to whom the king chiefly hearkened. He, having read this letter, after he was come to the army at Ace, because he was not ignorant, that those things were truly written, resolves to revolt from the king. Neither yet did he do any thing that was unworthy of his honour: For he placed Anrocles the Magnesian over the army. He departs with his *men* into Cappadocia, and seizes upon Paphlagonia, joining upon it: concealing how he was affected towards the king, he privately makes an alliance with Ariobarzanes, raises an army, *and* delivers the fortified towns to his *friends* to maintain *for him*.

CHAP. VI. But these things, by reason of the winter season, went on less successfully. He hears the Pisidians were raising some troops against him; he sends his son Arideus thither with an army; the young man falls in battle: The father marches thither with no great force, concealing how great a loss he had received, because he was desirous to come up to the enemy before the news of *this* ill-managed affair

gestâ fama ad suos perveniret; ne cognitâ filii morte, animi debilitarentur militum. Quò contenderat, pervenit, iisque locis castra ponit, ut neque circumveniri multitudine adversariorum posset, neque impediri, quò minus ipse ad dimicandum manum haberet expeditam. Erat cum eo Mithrobarzanes, socer ejus, præfectus equitum: Is, desperatis generi rebus, ad hostes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit, sensit si in turbam exisset, ab homine tam necessario se relictum, futurum ut cæteri consilium sequerentur; in vulgus edit, suo jussu Mithrobarzanem profectum pro perfugâ, quò faciliùs receptus interficeret hostes. Quare relinqui eum non par esse, sed omnes festim sequi; Quod si animo strenuo fecissent, futurum ut adversarii non possent resistere, quum et intra vallum et foris cæderentur. Hâc re probatâ, exercitum educit, Mithrobarzanem persequitur, qui nondum ad hostes pervenerat;

should reach his *men*; lest, *upon* knowing the death of his son, the minds of his soldiers should be discouraged. He came whither he intended, and pitches his camp in those places, that he could neither be surrounded by the number of his enemies, nor hindered from having his army *always* at liberty to fight. Mithrobarzanes was with him, his father-in-law, commander of the horse. He, despairing of the condition of his son-in-law, deserts to the enemy. When Datames heard that, he was sensible, if it should get abroad in the army, that he was forsaken by a man so near to him, it would come to pass, that the rest would follow his course. He spreads a *report* amongst the common soldiers, that Mithrobarzanes was gone over a deserter by his order, that he might the more easily, *by being* received as such, kill their enemies. Wherefore it was not fit that he should be left, but that they all ought immediately to follow; which if they did with a resolute mind, *the consequence* would be, that their enemies would not be able to resist, since they would be cut off within their ramparts,

Datames signa inferri jubet. Pisidiæ, novâ re commoti, in opinionem adducuntur, perfugas malâ fide, compositôque fecisse, ut recepti, essent majori calamitati: primum eos adoriuntur. Illi, quum quid ageretur, aut quare fieret, ignorarent, coacti sunt cum eis pugnare, ad quos transierant, ab hisque stare, quos reliquerant: Quibus cum neutri parcerent, celeriter sunt concisi. Reliquos Pisidas resistentes Datames invadit; primo impetu pel- lit, fugientes persequitur, multos interficit, castra hostium capit. Tali consilio uno tempore et proditores percussit, et hostes profligavit; et quod ad suam perniciem fuerat cogitatum, id ad salutem convertit. Quo neque acutius ullius imperatoris cogitatum, neque celerius factum usquam legimus.

and without. This thing being approved of, he draws out his army, pursues Mithrobarzanes, who had not yet got up to the enemy. Datames orders the standards to advance. The Pisidians, surprised at this odd thing, are brought to a persuasion, that the deserters acted with an ill intention, and by compact *with their other friends*, that being received *into the camp*, they might do *them* the more mischief; they fall upon them in the first place. They, as they knew not what was doing, nor why it was done, were forced to fight with those to whom they were going over, and to stand by them whom they had deserted: Which whilst neither *side* spared, they were quickly cut to pieces. Datames invades the rest of the Pisidians resisting: He repels them at the first attack, pursues them flying, kills many, *and takes the enemy's camp*. By this management he at once both ruined the traitors, and defeated his enemies, and turned what had been contrived for his destruction to his preservation. Than which we do not read of any invention of a general more acute, nor any action more expeditious.

CAP. VII. Ab hoc tamen viro Sysinas, maximus natu filius, descit, adque regem transiit, et de defectione patris detulit. Quo nuncio Artaxerxes commotus, quod intilligebat sibi cum viro forti ac strenuo negotium esse, qui, quum cogitasset, facere auderet, et prius cogitare, quam conari consuesset; Autophradatem in Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare posset saltum, in quo Ciliciæ portæ sunt sitæ, Datames præoccupare studuit. Sed tam subito copias contrahere non potuit: A quâ re depulsus, cum eâ manu quam contraxerat, locum delegit talem, ut neque circumiretur ab hostibus, neque præteriret adversarius, quin ancipitibus locis premeretur: et, si dimicare eo vellet, non multum obesse multitudo hostium suæ paucitati posset.

CAP. VIII. Hæc etsi Autophradates videbat,

CHAP. VII. Yet *his* eldest son, Sysinas, revolted from this man, and went over to the king, and informed him of his father's revolt. At which news Artaxerxes being shocked, because he understood he had to do with a brave and active man, who, when he had considered *of a thing*, durst execute it, and was used to consider, before he attempted *any thing*; sends Autophradates into Cappadocia. That he might not enter the wood in which the (*a*) Cilician gates are situated, Datames endeavoured to seize it before him. But he could not so suddenly draw his forces together: From which thing being obliged to recede, with that army which he got together, he chose such a place that he could neither be surrounded by the enemy, nor could his adversary pass, but he would be distressed in difficult places; and, if he had a mind to fight in it, the number of the enemy could not much hurt his handful of men.

CHAP. VIII. Although Autophradates was sensible

(a) A narrow pass in Mount Taurus.

satius tamen statuit congregari, quàm cum tantis copiis refugere, aut tam diu uno loco sedere. Habebat barbarorum equitum viginti, peditum centum millia, quos illi Cardaces appellant, ejusdemque generis tria fuditorum. Præterea Cappadocum octo, Armeniorum decem, Paphlagonum quinque, Phrygum decem, Lydorum quinque, Aspendiorum et Pisidarum circiter tria, Cilicum duo, Captianorum totidem, ex Græciâ conductorum tria millia; levis armaturæ maximum numerum. Has adversus copias spes omnis consistebat Datami in se, locique naturâ; namque hujus partem non habebat vigesimam militum: Quibus fretus conflixit, adversariorumque multa millia concidit; quum de ipsius exercitu non ampliùs hominum mille cecidis-

of these things, yet he thought it better to fight than to fly with so great an army, or to continue so long in one place, He had of barbarian horse twenty *thousand*, of foot a hundred *thousand*, which they call Cardaces, and three *thousand* slingers of the same kind, besides eight *thousand* Cappadocians, ten *thousand* (a) Armenians, five *thousand* Paphlagonians, ten *thousand* Phrygians, five *thousand* Lydians, about three *thousand* (b) Aspendians and Pisidians, two *thousand* Cilicians, as many Captians, three *thousand* men hired out of Greece; a vast number of (c) light-armed men. All Datames's hopes against these troops consisted in himself, and the nature of the place; for he had not the twentieth part of his soldiers: Depending upon which, he engaged and cut off many thousands of his enemies; whereas not above a thousand men of his army fell. For which reason, the day after

(a) Armenia is a country bounded by Asia Minor.

(b) The Aspendians were a people in that part of Asia Minor called Pamphylia.

(c) Men armed with bows or slings only, were called *leviter armati* or *levis armatura*.

sent. Quam ob causam, postero die trophæum posuit; quo loco pridie pugnatum. Hinc quum castra movisset, inferior copiis, superior omnibus præliis discedebat; quòd nunquam manum consereret, nisi adversarios locorum angustiis clausisset: quod perito regionum, callidèque cogitanti, sæpe accidebat. Autophradates quum bellum duci majore regis calamitate, quàm adversariorum, videret, ad pacem atque amicitiam hortatus est, ut cum rege in gratiam rediret. Quam ille etsi non fidam fore putabat, tamen conditionem accepit, seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum, quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat, sedatum: Autophradates in Phrygiam se recepit.

CAP. IX. At rex, quod implacabile odium in Datamen susceperat,

he erected a (*a*) trophy in the place where they had fought the day before. After he removed his camp from thence, though *he was* inferior in forces, he came off superior in all his battles, because he never engaged, but when he had enclosed his enemies within some narrow place: Which often happened to *the man*, being very well acquainted with the country, and contriving subtly. When Autophradates found that the war was continued with greater loss to the king than his enemies, he advised him to peace and friendship, *and* that he would return to a good understanding with the king. Which though he perceived would not be faithfully kept, yet he accepted the offer, and said that he would send ambassadors to Artaxerxes. Thus the war, which the king had undertaken against Datames, *was* ended; Autophradates withdrew himself into Phrygia.

CHAP. IX. But the king, because he had taken up an implacable hatred against

(*d*) A trophy was the trunk of a tree or a post, hung about with arms. These were common with the Greeks; they scarcely ever got a victory, but they erected a trophy.

postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animadvertit, insidiis interficere studuit, quas ille plerasque vitavit. Sicut, quum nunciatum esset quosdam sibi insidiari, qui in amicorum erant numero: de quibus, quod inimici detulerant, neque credendum, neque negligendum putavit; experiri voluit, verum falsumne, sibi esset relatum. Itaque eo profectus est, in quo itinere futuras insidias illi dixerant. Sed elegit corpore et staturâ simillimum sui, eique vestitum suum dedit, atque eo loci ire, quo ipse consueverat, jussit: ipse autem, ornatus vestitu militari, inter corporis custodes iter facere cœpit. At insidiatores, postquam in eum locum agmen pervenit, decepti ordine atque vestitu, in eum faciunt impetum, qui suppositus erat. Prædixerat autem his Datames cum quibus iter faciebat, ut parati essent facere quod ipsum vidissent. Ipse, ut concurrentes insidiatores animadvertit, tela in eos

Datames, after he found that he could not be mastered in war, endeavoured to take him off by underhand contrivances, most of which he avoided. As, when it was told *him*, that some were plotting against him, who were in the number of his friends; of whom because their enemies had given the information, he thought the thing was neither *entirely* to be believed nor slighted; he had a mind to try whether *it was* true or false, *that* had been told him. Wherefore he went that way in which they told him the ambush was to be laid for him; but he chose out one that was very like himself in person and stature, and gave him his own attire, and ordered him to go in that part of the company, in which he used to do: But he himself being dressed up in a military habit, began to march amongst the guards of his person. But the plotters, after the company were got into that place, being deceived by the order and the dress, make an attack upon him who had been put in Datames's place. But Datames had beforehand ordered them with whom he marched, to be ready to do

conjecit: hoc idem quum universi fecissent, priusquam pervenirent ad eum, quem aggredi volebant, confixi ceciderunt.

CAP. X. Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus est Mithridatis, Ariobarzannis filii, dolo: namque is pollicitus est regi, se eum interfectorum, si rex promitteret, ut quodcunque vellet, liceret impunè facere, fidemque de eâ re dextrâ dedisset. Hanc ut accepit, simulat se suscepisse cum rege inimicitias, copias parat, et absens, amicitiam cum Datame facit: regis provinciam vexat, castella expugnat, magnas prædas capit; quarum partem suis dispertit, partem ad Datamen mittit: Pari modo, complura castella ei tradit. Hæc diu faciendo, persuasit homini, se infinitum adversus regem suscepisse bellum; quum nihilo magis, ne quam suspicionem illi præberet insidiarum, neque collo-

what they should see him do. He, as soon as he saw the plotters coming on in a body, discharged his weapons at them, and as all the rest did the same, they fell down slain, before they could come up with him whom they intended to assault.

CHAP. X. Yet this man, as cunning *as he was*, at last was trepanned by the contrivance of Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes; for he promised the king, that he would kill him, if the king would promise him, that he might do with impunity whatsoever he would, by giving him his right hand. As soon as he had received this, he pretends that he had engaged in a quarrel with the king. He raises troops, and *though* absent makes alliance with Datames, harrasses the king's province, takes his castles, gets abundance of plunder; part of which he divided amongst his *men*; part he sends to Datames: In like manner he delivers him many castles. By doing this a long time, he persuaded the man that he had undertaken an endless war against the king; whilst notwithstanding, that he might not give him any suspicion of treachery *in*

quum ejus petivit, neque in conspectum venire studuit. Sic, absens, amicitiam gerebat; ut non beneficiis mutuis, sed odio communi, quod erga regem susceperant, contineri viderentur.

CAP. XI. Id quum satis se confirmasse arbitratus est, certiores facit Datamen, tempus esse majores exercitus parari, et bellum cum rege suscipi: de quâ re, si ei videretur, quod vellet in colloquium veniret. Probata re, colloquendi tempus sumitur, locusque quo conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum uno cui maximam habebat fidem, antè aliquot dies venit, compluribusque locis separatim gladios obruit, eaque loca diligenter notat. Ipso autem colloquendi die, utrique locum qui explorarent, atque ipsos scrutarentur, mittunt; deinde ipsi sunt congressi. Hic quum aliquandiu in colloquio fuissent, et diversi discessissent, jamque procul

the case, he neither desired a conference with him, nor endeavoured to come in his sight. Thus, *tho'* absent, he maintained a friendship *with him*; that they seemed not to be engaged to one another by mutual kindnesses, but by the common hatred, which they had both conceived against the king.

CHAP. XI. After he thought he had sufficiently confirmed that, he makes Datames acquainted, that it was time that greater armies should be raised, and the war undertaken with the king *himself*; concerning which matter, if it seemed to him *proper*, he might come to a conference with him where he pleased. The thing being approved of, a time for conferring together is pitched upon, and a place *too*, where they should meet. Hither Mithridates came with one in whom he had the greatest confidence, some days before, and buries swords apart in several places, and marks those places carefully. Upon the day of the conference, each of them sent *men* to examine the place, and search themselves, and then they met. After they had been here some time in confer-

Datames abesset, Mithridates, priusquam ad suos perveniret, ne quam suspicionem pararet, in eundem locum revertitur, atque ibi, ubi telum erat impositum, resedit, ut si à lassitudine cupe- ret acquiescere; Data- menque revocavit, simu- lans se quiddam in collo- quio esse oblitum. In- terim telum, quod late- bat, protulit; nudatum- que vaginâ, veste texit; ac Datami venienti ait, digredientem se animad- vertisse locum quendam, qui erat in conspectu, ad castra ponenda esse idoneum. Quem quum digito monstraret, et ille conspiceret, aversum ferro transfixit: et prius- quam quisquam posset succurrere, interfecit. Ita ille vir, qui multos consilio, neminem perfidiâ, ceperat, simulatâ captus est amicitia.

ence, and had parted different ways, and now Datames was a great way off, Mithridates, before he came to his *men*, that he might not create any suspicion *in him*, returns into the same place, and sat down there where a sword had been laid, as if he had a mind to rest himself after his weariness; and recalled Datames, pretending that he had forgot something in the conference. In the mean time he took out the sword that lay hid; and being drawn out of the sheath, covered it under his coat; and says to Datames, *as he was* coming, that he had *at* parting, observed a certain place which was in view, to be proper for the pitching of a camp; which whilst he was pointing to with his finger, and the other was looking at, he run him through, having his back turned towards him, with the sword; and before any one could succour him, killed him. Thus that man, who had taken many by his good conduct, none by treachery, was caught *himself* by a pretended friendship.

XV.

EPAMINONDAS,
Polymni filius, Theba-
nus.

CAP. I.

EPAMINONDAS, Polymni filius, Thebanus. De hoc priusquam scribamus, hæc præcipienda videntur lectoribus; Ne alienos mores ad suos referant; neve, ea, quæ ipsis leviora sunt, pari modo apud cæteros fuisse arbitrentur. Scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse à principis personâ; saltare etiam in vitiis poni: Quæ omnia apud Græcos et grata, et laude digna ducuntur. Quum autem exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitæ velimus Epaminondæ, nihil videmur debere prætermittere, quod pertineat ad eam declarandam. Quare dicemus primùm de genere ejus: deinde quibus disciplinis, et a quibus sit eruditus: tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus, et si qua alia digna me-

XV.

EPAMINONDAS,
The son of Polymnus, the
Theban.

CHAP. I.

EPAMINONDAS was the son of Polymnus, the Theban. Before we write of him, these *cautions* seem proper to be given to our readers; That they would not examine other people's fashions by *those of* their own country; nor think those things which are trivial with them, to have been in like manner *so* with others. For we know that according to our usages, music is far from *being suitable* to the character of a prince; and that dancing is reckoned amongst vices: All which, amongst the Greeks, are reckoned both agreeable, and worthy of commendation. But as we design to draw the picture of Epaminondas's way and *manner of* life, we seem obliged to pass by nothing that may be proper to setting it forth. Wherefore we will speak first of his extraction; then in what parts of literature, and by whom he was

moriâ erunt: postremo de rebus gestis, quæ à plurimis omnium anteponuntur virtutibus.

CAP. II. Natus igitur patre, quo diximus, honesto genere, pauper jam à majoribus relictus: Eruditus autem sic, ut nemo Thebanus magis; nam et citharizare, et cantare ad chordarum sonum doctus est à Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis gloriâ, quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum pervulgata sunt nomina: carmina cantare tibiis, ab Olympodoro; saltare, à Calliphron. At philosophiæ præceptorem habuit Lysim Tarentinum, Pythagoreum; cui quidem sic fuit deditus, ut adolescens tristem et severum senem omnibus æqualibus suis in familiaritate anteposuerit; neque pri-

instructed; then of his manners, and abilities of mind, and if there be any other things worthy to be remembered: And finally concerning his great actions; which by many are preferred before all virtues *whatsoever*.

CHAP. II. He was come of the father we spoke of, of an honourable family; left now poor by his forefathers, but so *well* educated, that no Theban was better: for he was taught to play upon the harp, and to sing to the sound of the strings by Dionysius, who was in no less fame amongst the musicians, than Damon or Lamprus, whose names are vulgarly celebrated: *He was taught* to play upon (a) flutes by Olympiodorus, *and* to dance by Calliphron. But he had for his master in philosophy, Lysis the Tarentine, the Pythagorean; to whom he was so devoted, that, young as *he was*, he preferred that grave and rigid old gentleman, before those of the same age with himself, in his familiarity.

(a) As the Latin word is plural, I have translated it by the plural, because it was no unusual thing among the ancients, for one to play upon two at once; which piece of art, is, I suppose now entirely lost.

us eum à se dimiserit quàm doctrinis tantò antecessit condiscipulos, ut facilè intelligi posset, parì modo superaturum omnes in cæteris artibus. Atque hæc ad nostram consuetudinem sunt levia et potiùs contemnenda: at in Græciâ utique olim magnæ laudi erant. Postquam ephebus factus est, et palæstræ dare operam cœpit, non tam magnitudini virium servivit, quàm velocitati: illam enim ad athletarum usum; hanc, ad belli existimabat utilitatem, pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimùm currendo et luctando, ad eum finem, quoad stans complecti posset, atque contendere. In armis plurimum studii consumebat.

CAP. III. Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plura etiam animi bona accesserant. Erat enim

Nor did he dismiss him from him, before he so much excelled his fellow scholars in learning, that it might be easily perceived that he would in like manner excel them all in other arts. And these things *with respect* to our usage are trifling, and rather to be despised; but in Greece however, they were formerly a mighty commendation. After he became a man, and began to apply to his (a) exercise, he did not mind so much the improvement of his strength as swiftness: For that he thought conduced *much* to the use of wrestlers; *but* this to the convenience of war. Wherefore he was exercised very much in running and wrestling, (b) as long as he could standing grapple and contend with his *adversary*. He employed much of his application in the *exercise of arms*.

CHAP. III. To this strength of body a great many good qualities of the mind were likewise added. For he was

(a) The youth of Greece and Rome used to spend much of their time in manly exercises, to fit them for the wars, unacquainted with the softness of balls, masquerades &c. For this purpose their cities were provided with fine stately buildings, called *gymnasia* and *palæstræ*.

(b) The Latin text here is very much blundered.

modestus, prudens, gravis; temporibus sapienter utens, peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo: adeò veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur. Idem continens, clemens, patiensque admirandum in modum; non solùm populi, sed etiam amicorum ferens injurias: In primisque commissa celans: quod interdum non minùs prodest quàm diserte dicere. Studiosus audiendi; ex hoc enim facillime disci arbitrabatur. Itaque quum in circulum venisset, in quo aut de republicâ disputaretur, aut de philosophiâ sermo haberetur, nunquam inde priùs discessit, quàm ad finem sermo esset deductus. Paupertatem adeò facilè perpessus est, ut de republicâ nihil præter gloriam ceperit. Amicorum in se tuendo caruit

modest, prudent, steady, wisely using the times, skilled in war, brave in action, and of a great mind: Such a lover of truth, that he would not indeed tell a lie in jest. The same *man* was moderate, merciful, and patient to a wonderful degree, not only bearing with the injuries of the people, but his friends: Especially a concealer of secrets, which sometimes does no less service than to speak eloquently. Very fond of hearing *others discourse*; for by this he thought a man might learn in the most easy manner. Wherefore when he came into company (*a*) in which there was either a dispute about the government, or *any* discourse held upon *a point of* philosophy, he never departed thence, till the discourse was brought to a conclusion. He bore *his* poverty so easily, that he got nothing by the government, but glory. He did not make use of the estates of his friends

(*a*) It was not the custom formerly, as now, for men to club and tittle away their time in taverns; that was scandalous amongst the Heathens themselves. Their usual place of resort for conversation in the day-time, was the forum, and the public buildings about it, as courts and piazzas; where, as they used to stand in rings and circles, for the better convenience of hearing one another, *circulus* came to be particularly used for such a knot of company.

facultatibus; fide ad alios sublevandos sæpe sic usus est, ut possit iudicari omnia ei cum amicis fuisse communia. Nam quum aut civium suorum aliquis ab hostibus fuisset captus, aut virgo amici nubilis propter paupertatem collocari non posset; amicorum consilium habebat, et quantum quisque daret, pro facultatibus imperabat: eamque summam quum faceret, priusquam acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum, qui quærebat, ad eos qui conferebant, eique ut ipsi numerarent, faciebat; ut ille ad quem ea res perveniebat, sciret quibus et quantum cuique deberet.

CAP. IV. Tentata autem ejus est abstinentia à Diomedonte Cyziceno; namque is, rogatu Artaxerxis, Epaminondam pecuniâ corrumpendum suscepserat. Hic magno cum pondere auri Thebâs venit, et Micythum, adolescentulum, quinque talentis, ad suam perduxit voluntatem, quem tum Epaminondas plurimum dili-

in maintaining himself; he often so used his credit to relieve his friends, that it may be judged *by that*, that he had all things in common with his friends. For when either any of his countrymen were taken by the enemies, or a marriageable daughter of a friend could not be disposed of, by reason of his poverty, he held a council of his friends, and ordered how much every man should give, according to his estate: and when he made up the sum, before he received the money, he brought the man, who wanted it, to those who contributed, and made them pay it to himself; that he, to whom that benefit came, might know to whom he was indebted, and how much to every one.

CHAP. IV. His justice was tried by Diomedon of Cyzicus: For he, at the request of Ariaxerxes, had undertaken to bribe Epaminondas. He came to Thebes with a vast quantity of gold, and brought over Micythus, a young man, by five talents, to his lure, whom at that time Epaminondas loved very much. Micythus went to Epaminondas, and tells him the occasion of Diomedon's coming:

gebat. Micythus Epaminondam convenit, et causam adventûs Diomedontis ostendit: At ille, Diomedonte coram, nihil, inquit, opus pecuniâ est: Nam si ea rex vult, quæ Thebanis sunt utilia, gratis facere sum paratus: sin autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti satis; namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo, pro patriæ charitate. Te, qui me incognitum tentasti, tuique similem existimasti, non miror; tibi ignosco; sed egredere properè, ne alios corumpas, quum me non potueris. Tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde, aut nisi id confestim facis, ego te tradam magistratui. Hunc Diomedon quum rogaret, ut tutò exire, suaque quæ attulisset, liceret efferre: Istud, inquit, faciam; neque tuâ causâ, sed meâ: ne, si, tibi sit pecunia adempta, aliquis dicat ad me ereptum pervenisse, quod delatum accipere noluissem. A quo quum quæsisset, quò se duci vellet, et ille Athenas dixisset, præsi-

But he, in the presence of Diomedon, said, there is no need of money *in the case*: For if the king desires those things, which are expedient for the Thebans, *I am ready to do them for nothing*: But if the contrary, he has not silver and gold enough; for I would not take the riches of the whole world for the love of my country. I do not wonder at you, who have attempted me unknown *to you*, and thought me like yourself: I forgive you; but get you gone quickly, lest you corrupt others, though you have not been able *to corrupt me*. Do you Micythus, give him his silver again, or, unless you do it immediately, I will deliver you to the magistrate. When Diomedon asked him, that he might be suffered to go off safely, and carry away what he had brought *with him*: That, says he, I shall do; not for your cause, but my own: lest, if your money should be taken from you, any one should say, that that was taken *from you*, and come to me, which I would not accept of *when* offered. Of whom when he had enquired, whither he had a mind to be conducted, and he said, to Athens, he gave

dium dedit, ut eò tutò perveniret. Neque verò id satis habuit, sed etiam ut inviolatus in navem ascenderet, per Chabriam Atheniensem, (de quo suprâ mentionem fecimus,) effecit. Abstinentiæ erit hoc satis testimonium. Plurima quidem proferre possemus, sed modus adhibendus est, quoniam uno hoc volumine vitam excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicârunt.

CAP. V. Fuit et disertus, ut nemo Thebanus ei par esset eloquentiâ: neque minus concinnus in brevitate respondendi, quàm in perpetuâ oratione ornatus. Habuit obtrectatorem Meneclidem quendam, indidem Thebis, adversarium in administrandâ republicâ, satis exercitatum in dicendo; ut Thebanum scilicet: Namque illi genti plûs inest virium, quàm ingenii. Is, quòd in re militari florere Epaminondam vi-

him a guard, that he might come safely thither. Nor indeed did he reckon that sufficient, but he likewise took care, that he should go on board a ship uninjured, by Chabrias the Athenian, of whom we have made mention above. This will be a sufficient testimony of his justice. We could indeed produce a great many, but moderation is to be used, because we have designed to comprise, in this single volume, the lives of several excellent men, whose lives several writers before us have given an account of separately, in many thousands of lines.

CHAP. V. He was likewise eloquent, that no Theban was equal to him for eloquence, and no less dextrous in the shortness of his replies, than florid in a continued harangue. He had one Meneclides there at Thebes as a detractor, and enemy to him in managing the government, sufficiently exercised in speaking, for a Theban; that is: For that nation has more of bodily strength than wit. He, because he saw Epaminondas make a figure in military affairs, used to advise the Thebans to prefer

debat, hortari solebat Thebanos, ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne illius imperatoris opera desideraretur. Huic ille, Fallis, inquit, verbo cives tuos, quod hos à bello avocas: otii enim nomine servitutem concilias; nam paratur pax bello. Itaque qui eâ diutinâ volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent. Quare, si principes Græciæ esse vultis, castris est vobis utendum, non palæstrâ. Idem ille Meneclides quum huic objiceret quòd liberos non haberet, neque uxorem duxisset; maximèque insolentiam, quòd sibi Agamemnonis belli gloriam videretur consecutus: At ille, Desine, inquit, Meneclide, de uxore mihi exprobare, nam nullius in istâ re minus uti consilio volo. (Habebat enim Meneclides suspicionem adulterii.)

peace before war, that the service of that general might not be wanted. *Upon which* he says to him, you deceive your countrymen with *that* word, in dissuading them from war; for you recommend slavery to them under the name of peace; for peace is procured by war. Wherefore, they that will enjoy it long, ought to be exercised in war. Wherefore, if you have a mind to be the leaders of Greece, you must use the camp, *and* not the place of exercise. When the same Meneclides objected to him, (a) that he had no children, nor had married a wife; and especially *objected against him* his insolence, because he seemed to himself to have acquired the glory of Agamemnon in war: But, says he, give over, Meneclides, to upbraid me about a wife: For I could take nobody's advice in that matter less *than yours*. (For Meneclides went under the suspicion of making too

(a) As the strength of any government consists much in the numbers of people, matrimony was so encouraged amongst the Greeks and Romans, that to live a single life was almost criminal amongst them: Nay, was indeed so at last among the Romans, and punished pretty severely; and, in my opinion, is not to be excused, unless where a man, in a single state, may be more serviceable to his country, than if he were to marry.

Quod autem me Agamemnonem æmulari putas, falleris; namque ille, cum universâ Græciâ, vix decem annis unam cepit urbem: Ego, contrâ, ex unâ urbe nostrâ, dieque uno, totam Græciam, Lacedæmoniis fugatis, liberavi.

CAP. VI. Idem quum in convëntum venisset Arcadum, petens, ut societatem cum Thebanis et Argivis facerent; contrâque, Callistratus Atheniensium legatus, qui eloquentiâ omnes eo præstabat tempore, postularet, ut potiùs amicitiam sequerentur Atticorum, et in oratione suâ multa invectus esset in Thebanos et Argivos, in eisque hoc posuisset, Animadvertere debere Arcadas, quales utraque civitas cives procreâset, ex quibus de cæteris posset judicare: Argivos enim fuisse Orestem et Alcæonem, matricidas: Thebis Oedipum natum, qui cum patrem suum interfecisset, ex matre liberos procreâset: Hic in respondendo Epaminondas, quum de cæteris perorâset, post-

free with other men's wives) And whereas you think I rival Agamemnon, you are mistaken; for he with all Greece, with difficulty, took one city in ten years: I, on the other hand, from this one city of ours, and in one day, delivered all Greece, by routing the Lacedæmonians.

CHAP. VI. When the same person was come into the assembly of the Arcadians, desiring that they would make an alliance with the Thebans and the Argives; and on the other hand Callistratus, ambassador of the Athenians, who excelled all in eloquence at that time, desired that they would rather follow the alliance of the Athenians, and inveighed much in his speech against the Thebans and the Argives, and put this in amongst other things, that the Arcadians ought to observe what sort of citizens each city had produced, by which they might judge of the rest; for Orestes and Alcæon, murderers of their mothers, were Argives, and Oedipus was born at Thebes; who, after he had killed his father, had children by his mother: Here Epaminondas, in his answer, after he had spoken to other points, when

quam ad illa duo opprobria pervenit, admirari se dixit stultitiam rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverteret, innocentes illos natos, domi scelere admissos, quum patriâ essent pulsî, receptos esse ab Atheniensibus. Sed maximè ejus eloquentia eluxit Spartæ, legati ante pugnam Leuctricam; quo quum omnium sociorum convenissent legati, coram frequentissimo legationum conventu, sic Lacedæmoniorum tyrannidem coarguit, ut non minùs illa oratione opes eorum concusserit, quàm Leuctricâ pugnâ. Tum enim perfecit, quod pòst apparuit ut auxilio sociorum Lacedæmonii privarentur.

CAP. VII. Fuisse autem patientem, suorumque injurias ferentem civium, quòd se patriæ iresci nefas esse duceret, hæc sunt testimonia. Quum eum propter invidiam cives præficere exercitui noluissent,

he was come to those two reproaches, said, that he admired the folly of the Athenian rhetorician, who did not consider that they were born innocent, *and* having committed their wickedness at home, after they were banished their country were entertained by the Athenians. But his eloquence shined the most at Sparta, *when he was* ambassador before the battle of (a) Leuctra; where when the ambassadors of all the allies had met, before a full assembly of the embassies, he did so make appear the tyranny of the Lacedæmonians, that he shook their power no less by that speech, than by the battle of Leuctra. For then he effected what afterwards appeared, that the Lacedæmonians were deprived of the assistance of their allies.

CHAP. VII. But that he was patient, and bore with the injuries of his countrymen, because he thought it a crime to be angry with his country, there are these proofs. When his countrymen, out of ill nature to him, would not place him at the

(a) A city of Laconia in Peloponnesus.

duxque esset delectus belli imperitus, cujus errore eò esset deducta illa res militum, ut omnes de salute pertimescerent, quòd locorum angustiis clausi, ab hostibus obsidebantur: desiderari cœpta est Epaminondæ diligentia; erat enim ibi privatus numero militum: A quo quum peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliæ, et exercitum, obsidione liberatum, domum reduxit incolumem. Neque verò hoc semel fecit, sed sæpius. Maximè autem fuit illustre, quum in Peloponnesum exercitum duxisset adversus Lacedæmonios, haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac strenuus. † Hic, quum criminibus adversariorum omnes in invidiam venissent, ob eamque rem imperium his esset abrogatum, atque in eorum locum alii prætores successissent; Epaminondas plebiscito non paruit: idemque ut facerent, persuasit collegis, et bellum quod susceperat, gessit: Namque

head of their army, and a general was chosen that was unskilled in war, by whose mistake the army was brought to that pass, that all were much concerned about their safety, because that being enclosed within a narrow place, they were besieged by the enemy; the diligence of Epaminondas began to be missed; for he was there as a private man amongst the soldiers: From whom when they desired help, he had no regard to the affront *fuit upon him*, and carried the army, delivered out of this strait, safely home. Nor indeed did he do that once only, but often. But that was the most remarkable, when he led an army into Peloponnesus against the Lacedæmonians, and had two joined in commission with him, one of which was Pelopidas, a gallant and active man. Here, when they were all come under the odium *of their countrymen*, by the accusations of their enemies, and for that reason their commission was taken from them, and other commanders succeeded in their place: Epaminondas did not obey the order of the people, and persuaded his colleagues to do the same,

animadvertēbat, ubi id fecisset, totum exercitum propter pratorum imprudentiam inscitamque belli periturum. Lex erat Thebis, quæ morte mulctabat, si quis imperium diutius retinisset, quam lege præfinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas quum reipublicæ conservandæ causâ latam videret, ad perniciem civitatis conferre noluit; et quatuor mensibus diutius, quam populus jusserat, gessit imperium.

CAP. VIII. Postquam domum reditum est, collegæ ejus hoc crimine accusabantur: quibus ille permisit, ut omnem causam in se transferrent, suâque operâ factum contenderent, ut legi non obedirent. Quâ defensione illis periculo liberatis, nemo Epaminondam responsurum putabat; quòd quid diceret non haberet. At ille in judicium venit, nihil eorum negavit quæ adver-

and carried on the war which he had undertaken. For he was sensible, (a) unless he did so, that the whole army would be lost, by reason of the unskilfulness of the generals, and their ignorance in war. There was a law at Thebes, which punished with death, if any one kept his commission longer than was prescribed by law. As Epaminondas saw that this was made upon account of preserving the state, he would not turn it to the ruin of his country; and kept his command four months longer than the people had ordered.

CHAP. VIII. After they were returned home, his fellow commissioners were impeached for this crime, to whom he gave leave to lay all the blame upon him, and stand to it that it was occasioned by his means, that they did not obey the law. By which defence, they being delivered from danger, nobody thought Epaminondas would make any answer for himself; because he could not have any thing to say. But he came to his trial, de-

(a) It is in the Latin, *uli*, without any sense. It seems to me undeniable it should be *nisi*.

sarii crimini dabant, omniaque quæ collegæ dixerant confessus est; neque recusavit, quo minus legis pœnam subiret; sed unam ab iis petivit, ut in periculo suo conscriberent; Epaminondas à Thebanis morte mulctatus est, quod eos coëgit apud Leuctra superare Lacedæmonios; quos ante se imperatorem, nemo Bœotiorum ausus fuit aspicere in acie: quodque uno prælio non solum Thebas ab interitu retraxit, sed etiam universam Græciam in libertatem vindicavit; eoque res utrorumque perduxit, ut Thebani Spartam oppugnarent, Lacedæmonii satis haberent si salvi esse possent: neque prius bellari destitit, quam, Messenâ constitutâ, urbem eorum obsidione clausit. Hæc quum dixisset, risus omnium cum hilaritate coortus est; neque quis-

nied none of those things which his enemies laid to his charge, and confessed all things that his colleagues had said; nor did he refuse to undergo the punishment of the law. But one thing he requested of them that they would write upon his (a) tomb; Epaminondas was put to death by the Thebans, because he forced them to beat the Lacedæmonians at Leuctra; whom before he was general, none of the Bœotians durst look at in the field; and because he not only delivered Thebes from destruction by one battle, but likewise restored all Greece to their liberty, and brought the affairs of both people to that pass, that the Thebans attacked Sparta, and the Lacedæmonians were content, if they could be secure; nor did he cease to make war upon them, before, the state of (b) Messena being settled, he penned up their city by a close siege. After he had said this, there burst out a

(a) Though some pretend to defend the vulgar reading here, *periculo*; yet I cannot forbear thinking it to be a mistake for *sepulchro*, or some other word of like import.

(b) A country of Peloponnesus, bordering upon Laconia to the westward.

quam iudex austus est
ferre suffragium.

CAP. IX. Sic à iudicio capitis maximâ discessit gloriâ. Hic, extremo tempore, imperator apud Mantineam, quum acie instructâ audaciùs instaret hostibus, cognitus à Lacedæmoniis, quòd in ejus unius perniciæ patriæ sitam putabant salutem, universi in unum impetum fecerunt, neque priùs abscesserunt quàm magnâ cæde factâ, multisque occisis, fortissimè ipsum Epaminondam pugnantem, sparo eminus percussus, concidere viderunt. Hujus casu aliquantum retardati sunt Bæotii; neque tamen priùs pugnâ excesserunt, quam repugnantes profligarunt. At Epaminondas, quum animadverteret mortiferum se vulnus accepisse, simulque, si ferrum, quod ex hastili in corpore remanserat, extraxisset, animam statim amissu-

laughter of all *present*, with a *deal* of merriment; nor durst any judge pass sentence upon him.

CHAP. IX. Thus he came off from this trial for life with the greatest glory. He at the latter end of his time, being general at (a) Mantinea, when he pressed very boldly upon the enemies with his army in Battalia, being known by the Lacedæmonians, because they thought the saving of their country depended upon the destruction of him alone, they all made an attack upon him only; nor did they depart, till having made a great slaughter, and killed many, they saw Epaminondas himself, fighting very valiantly, fall wounded with a lance at a distance. ✕ The Bæotians were a little retarded by his fall; neither yet did they quit the fight, before they routed those that opposed them. But Epaminondas, after he perceived he had received a mortal wound, and likewise, that if he drew out the head of the spear, which remained in his body, he should immediately lose his life; he kept

(a) A city of Arcadia in Peloponnesus.

rum; usque eò retinuit, quoad renunciatum est, Vicisse Bæotios. Id postquam audivit, satis, inquit, vixi; invictus enim morior. Tum ferro extracto, confestim exanimatus est.

CAP. X. Hic uxorem nunquam duxit; in quo quum reprehenderetur à Pelopidâ, qui filium habebat infamem; malèque eum in eo patriæ consulere diceret, quòd liberos non relinqueret: Vide, inquit, ne tu pejus consulas, qui talem ex te natum relicturus sis. Neque vero stirps mihi potest deesse: namque ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leuctricam, quæ non modò mihi superstes, sed etiam immortalis sit, necesse est. Quo tempore, duce Pelopidâ, exules Thebas occupaverunt, et presidium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce expulerunt: Epaminondas, quàm diu facta est cædes civium, domi se retinuit; quòd neque malos defendere volebat, neque repugnare, ne manus suorum sanguine cruentaret: Namque omnem civilem

it in so long, till it was told him, That the Bæotians had conquered. After he heard that, I have lived, said he, *long* enough; for I die unconquered. Then the iron *head* being drawn out, he immediately died.

CHAP. X. He never married a wife; for which, when he was blamed by Pelopidas, who had an infamous son; and said, that he did but ill consult *the interest of his country*, in that he left no children: Consider, says he, whether you do not worse consult *the interest of your country*, who are likely to leave such a son. But neither can I want issue; for I leave a daughter, the battle of Leuctra, which must needs not only survive me, but be immortal. At the time when the banished Thebans seized Thebes, with Pelopidas their commander, and drove the garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the citadel; Epaminondas, so long as the slaughter was made amongst the citizens, kept himself at home, because he neither had a mind to defend the bad party, nor attack them, that he might not imbrue his hands in the blood of his countrymen: For he thought

victoriam funestam putabat. Idemque, postquam apud Cadmeam pugnari cum Lacedæmoniis cœpit, in primis stetit. Hujus de virtutibus vitæque satis erit dictum, si hoc unum adjuxero, quod nemo eat inficias: Thebas, et ante Epaminondam natum, et post ejusdem interitum, perpetuo alieno paruisse imperio: contra ea, quamdiu ille præfuerit reipublicæ, caput fuisse totius Græciæ. Ex quo intelligi potest, unum hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse.

all victory gained over fellow-citizens very dismal. And the same man, after they began to engage at Cadmea with the Lacedæmonians, stood amongst the foremost. Enough will be said of his virtues and life, if I add this one thing, which nobody can deny: That Thebes, both before Epaminondas *was* born, and after his death, was always subject to a foreign power; on the other hand, so long as he governed the commonwealth, it was the head of all Greece. From whence it may be understood, that one man *alone* was more worth than *all* the *whole* city *besides*.

XVI.

PELOPIDAS,
Thebanus.

CAP. I

PELOPIDAS Thebanus, magis historiis, quam vulgo notus. Cu-

XVI.

PELOPIDAS,
The Theban.

CHAP. I.

PELOPIDAS the Theban, is better known to (a) historians, than to the vulgar.

(a) The common reading is *historiis*; but I am of the learned Schottus's opinion, that it should be *historicis*, and accordingly I have translated it.

jus de virtutibus dubito
 quemadmodum expo-
 nam: quòd vereor, si res
 explicare incipiam, non
 vitam ejus enarrare, sed
 historiam videar scri-
 bere; si tantummodo
 summas attigero, ne ru-
 dibus literarum Græca-
 rum minus lucidè appa-
 reat, quantus fuerit ille
 vir. Itaque utrique rei
 occurram, quantum po-
 tero, et medebor cùm
 satietati, tum ignorantia,
 lectorum. Phœbidas Lacedæmonius quum exer-
 citum Olynthum duce-
 ret, iterque per Thebas
 faceret, arcem oppidi,
 quæ Cadmea nominatur,
 occupavit, impulsu per-
 paucorum Thebanorum;
 qui adversariæ factioni
 quo faciliùs resisterent,
 Laconum rebus stude-
 bant: Idque suo privato,
 non publico fecit consi-
 lio. Quo facto, eum
 Lacedæmonii ab exerci-
 tu removerunt, pecuniâ-
 que mulctarunt: neque
 eò magis arcem Theba-
 nis reddiderunt, quòd,
 susceptis inimicitiis sati-
 us ducebant eos obside-
 ri, quam liberari. Nam
 post Peloponnesium bel-
 lum Athenasque devic-

Concerning whose excellen-
 cies I am in doubt how I
 shall write; because I am
 afraid, if I shall begin to un-
 ravel his actions, I shall seem
 not to recount his life, but to
 write a history; if I only
 touch upon the most consi-
 derable, *I fear*, lest it should
 less plainly appear to those
that are ignorant of the
 Greek tongue how great a
 man he was. Wherefore I
 will provide against both
 things, as much as I can, and
 prevent both the glut and ig-
 norance of my readers.
 When Phœbidas the Lacedæmonian was leading an
 army to Olynthus, and made
 his march by Thebes, he
 seized the citadel of the town,
 which is called Cadmea, at
 the instigation of a few The-
 bans, who, that they might
 the more easily resist the
 opposite faction, favoured the
 interest of the Lacedæmoni-
 ans: And that he did upon
 his own private, and not on
 any public resolution *of the*
Spartans. Upon which fact
 the Lacedæmonians removed
 him from *his post* in the
 army, and fined him *a sum of*
 money; nor did they for all
 that restore the citadel to the
 Thebans, because, a quarrel
 being *now* begun, they

tas, cum Thebanis sibi rem esse existimabant; et eos esse solos, qui adversus resistere audent. Hâc mente, amicis suis summas potestates dederant; alterius factionis principes partim interfecerant, alios in exilium ejecerant; in quibus Pelopidas hic, de quo scribere exorsi sumus, pulsus, patriâ carebat.

CAP. II. Hi omnes ferè Athenas se contulerant, non quò sequerentur otium, sed ut, quemcunque ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur. Itaque, quum tempus est visum rei gerendæ, communiter cum his, qui Thebis idem sentiebant, diem delegerunt, ad inimicos opprimendos, civitatemque liberandam, eum, quo maximi magistratus simul consueverunt epulari. Magnæ sæpe res non ita magnis copiis

thought it better that they should be under a check, than at liberty: For after the Peloponnesian war, and the conquest of Athens, they supposed they must have to do with the Thebans; and that they were the only *people* who durst make opposition against *them*. With these sentiments, they had delivered the highest posts to their friends, the leading men of the other faction they had partly killed, *and* partly turned out into banishment; Amongst whom this Pelopidas, of whom we have undertaken to write, was banished his country.

CHAP. II. Almost all these had betaken themselves to Athens, not that they might lead an idle life, but that whatsoever place in the neighbourhood fortune offered them, they might endeavour from thence to recover their country. Wherefore when it *now* seemed time to enter upon the business, they pitched upon a day jointly with those who at Thebes had the same sentiments, to fall upon their enemies, and free the city, the very day upon which the chief magistrates were used to feast together. Great things have

sunt gestæ: sed profectò nunquam ab tam tenui initio tantæ opes sunt profligatæ. Nam duodecim adolescentuli coi-
 erunt, ex his qui exilio erant mulctati, quum omnino non essent amplius centum, qui tanto se offerrent periculo; quâ paucitate percussa est Lacedæmoniorum potentia. Hi enim non magis adversariorum factioni, quàm Spartanis, eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui principes erant totius Græciæ: quorum imperiosa majestas, neque ita multò post, Leuctricâ pugnâ, ab hoc initio percussa, cecidit. Illi igitur duodecim, quorum erat dux Pelopidas, quum Athenas interdum exissent, ut vesperscente cælo Thebas possent pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes vestitu agresti, quò minore suspitione facerent iter. Qui quum tempore ipso, quo studuerant, provenissent, domum Charonis devenerunt, à quo et tempus et dies erat datus.

been oftentimes performed by no great forces; but indeed never so great a power was defeated from so small a beginning. For twelve young men, of those who had been punished with banishment, agreed, when they were not above an hundred that offered themselves to so great a danger; with which small number the power of the Lacedæmonians was overthrown. For these made war, not more upon the faction of their adversaries, than upon the Spartans at that time, who were the lords of all Greece: Whose imperious grandeur, shocked from this beginning, fell not long after in the battle of Leuctra. Wherefore those twelve, whose leader was Pelopidas, having gone out of Athens in the day-time, that they might reach Thebes when the heavens grew dark, went out with hounds, carrying nets, in a country dress, that they might make their journey with the less suspicion. Who, having come *thither* at the time which they had intended, went to Charon's house, by whom the (*a*) day had been fixed.

(*a*) The text seems to be faulty here; there can, I think, be no occasion for *tempus* and *dies* both.

CAP. III. Hoc loco libet interponere, etsi junctum à re proposita est, nimia fiducia quantæ calamitati soleat esse. Nam magistratum Thebanorum statim ad aures pervenit, exules in urbem devenisse. Id illi, vino epulisque dediti, usque eo despexerunt, ut ne quærere quidem de tantâ re laborarint. Accessit, etiam, quod magis aperiret eorum dementiam: Allata est enim epistola Athenis, ab Archiâ Hierophrante, Archiæ, qui tum maximum magistratum Thebis obtinebat; in quâ omnia de profectione exulum prescripta erant: Quæ quum jam accubanti in convivio esset data, sicut erat signata, in pulvinum subiciens; In crastinum, inquit, differo res severas. At illi omnes, quum jam nox processisset, vinolenti, ab exulibus, duce

CHAP. III. In this place I have a fancy to insert a *remark*, altho' it be foreign to our subject: How great a mischief an excessive assurance uses to be. For it immediately came to the ears of the Theban magistrates, that *some of the* exiles were come to town: That, they intent upon their wine and good cheer, so far despised, that they did not truly trouble themselves to enquire about so important a matter. There was another thing too, which discovered their madness still the more. For a letter was brought from Athens, from Archias an (*a*) Hierophrantes, to Archias, who then had the chief post of authority at Thebes; in which all things had been written concerning the departure of the exiles *from thence*: Which being given to him as (*b*) he sat at the feast, putting it as it was sealed, under his pillow; I put off, says he, all serious affairs till to-morrow: But they

(*a*) *Hierophantes* is explained by some to be a keeper of the holy trinkets belonging to the Gods.

(*b*) The Latin word properly signifies *lying at*, or *by*, which was the posture used by the ancients at tables, about which they commonly had three beds placed, on the sides of which they lay, with their backs supported by pillows.

Pelopidâ, sunt interfecti. Quibus rebus confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non solum qui in urbe erant, sed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt; præsidium Lacedæmoniorum ex arce pepulerunt; patriam obsidione liberaverunt: Auctores Cadmeæ occupandæ patrim occiderunt, partim in exilio ejecerunt.

CAP. IV. Hoc tam turbido tempore (sicut supra docuimus) Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit: Itaque hæc liberandarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidæ: cæteræ ferè omnes communes cum Epaminondâ. Namque in Leuctricâ pugnâ, imperatore Epaminonda, hic fuit dux delectæ manûs, quæ prima phalangen prostravit Laconum. Omnibus præterea periculis adfuit: sicut Spartam quum oppugnavit, alterum tenuit

all, when now the night was pretty far advanced, being drunk, were slain by the exiles, under their leader Pelopidas. Which things being done, and the common people invited to arms and liberty, not only those who were in the town, but likewise *others* from all parts out of the country, flocked in *to them*; drove the garrison of the Lacedæmonians out of the citadel; and delivered their country from that bridle. They partly put to death the advisers of seizing the Cadmea, and partly drove them out into banishment.

CHAP. IV. During this turbulent time (as we have told you before) Epaminondas, so long as they were engaged with their fellow citizens, was quiet at home; wherefore the glory of delivering Thebes is proper to Pelopidas: Almost all his other *glorious actions* were common *to him* with Epaminondas. For in the battle of Leuctra, *where* Epaminondas was general, he was the commander of a select body of *troops*, which first *of all* broke the Phalanx of the Lacedæmonians. Besides, he was present *with him* in all his dangers; as, when he at-

cornu: quòque Messena celerius restitueretur, legatus in Persas est profectus. Denique hæc fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda, ita ut proxima esset Epaminondæ.

CAP. V. Conflictatus autem est cum adversâ fortunâ; nam et initio (sicut ostendimus) exul patriâ caruit; et, quum Thessaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cupe- ret redigere, legationis- que jure satis tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuêset, à tyran- no Alexandro Pheræo, simul cum Ismeniâ, comprehensus, in vincu- la conjectus est. Hunc Epaminondas recupera- vit, bello persequens Alexandrum. Post id factum, nunquam is ani- mo placari potuit in eum, à quo erat violatus: Itaque persuasit Theba- nis, ut subsidio Thessa- liæ proficiscerentur, ty- rannosque ejus expelle- rent. Cujus belli quum

tacked Sparta, he command- ed one wing; and that Mes- sena might be more expedi- tiously restored, he went am- bassador amongst the Persi- ans. Finally this was another *considerable* actor at Thebes, but yet a second, so that he was next to Epaminondas.

CAP. V. Yet he met with adverse fortune; for he was early banished (as we have shewn;) and being desirous to reduce Thessaly under the power of the Thebans, and, thinking himself sufficiently secured by the right of an embassy, which used to be sacred among all nations, he was seized, together with Ismenias, by Alexander the tyrant of (a) Pheræ, and thrown into chains. Epami-ondas recovered him, falling upon Alexander in war. Af- ter that fact, he could never be reconciled in his mind to him by whom he had been injured: Wherefore he per- suaded the Thebans to go to the relief of Thessaly, and drive out the tyrants thereof. When the chief command in that war had been given to him, and he was come thither with his army, he did not

(a) A city in that part of Thessaly called Pelasgiotis.

ei summa esset data, eoque cum exercitu perfectus esset, non dubitavit, simul ac conspexit hostem, conflare. In quo prælio, Alexandrum ut animadvertit, incensus irâ, equum in eum concitavit, proculque digressus à suis, conjectu telorum confossus cecidit. Atque hoc secundâ victoriâ accidit: nam jam inclinatæ erant tyrannorum copiæ. Quo facto, omnes Thessaliæ civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis, et statu æneis, liberosque ejus multo agro donaverunt.

delay to engage, as soon as he saw the enemy. In which battle, when he spied Alexander, being fired with rage, he spurred on his horse against him, and being gone a good way from his *men*, he fell down killed with the discharge of weapons *at him*: And this happened *when* victory was favourable *to him*: For the tyrants' troops were now ready to flee. After which, all the cities of Thessaly *honoured* the slain Pelopidas with golden crowns, and brazen statues, and presented his children with a great deal of land.

XVII.

AGESILAUS,
Lacedæmonius.

CAP. I.

AGESILAUS Lacedæmonius, cum à cæteris scriptoribus, tum eximie à Xenophonte Socratico collaudatus est; eo enim usus est familiarissimè. Hic primùm de regno cum Leoty-

XVII.

AGESILAUS,
The Lacedæmonian.

CHAP. I.

AGESILAUS the Lacedæmonian, has been commended as well by other writers, as by Xenophon the Socratick *philosopher* extraordinarily; for he was very intimate with him. He first *of all* had a dispute with

chide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos est enim à majoribus Lacedæmoniis traditus, ut duos haberent semper reges, nomine magis quàm imperio ex duabus familiis Proclis et Euristhenis, qui principes ex progenie Herculis Spartæ reges fuerunt. Harum ex alterâ in alterius familiæ locum fieri non licebat: itaque uterque suum retinebat ordinem. Primum, ratio habebatur, qui maximus natus esset ex liberis ejus, qui regnans decessisset: Sin is virilem sexum non reliquisset, tunc eligebatur qui proximus esset propinquitate. Mortuus erat Agis rex, frater Agesilai: filium reliquerat Leotychildem, quem ille vivens non agnôrat; eundem, moriens, suum esse dixerat. Is de honore regni cum Agesilao suo patruo contendit; neque id quod petivit consecutus est: nam Lysandro suffragante, homine, ut ostendimus suprâ, factioso, et his temporibus potente, Agesilaus antelatus est.

Leotyches, his brother's son, for the kingdom. For it is a custom delivered to the Lacedæmonians by their forefathers, to have always two kings, in name rather than authority, of the two families of Procles and Eurysthenes, who, first of *all* the progeny of Hercules, were kings of Sparta. It was not lawful *for a king* to be made out of one of these, in the room of the other family: Wherefore each kept its rank. First, regard was had to him that was the eldest of the sons of him who died king: But if he left no male issue, then he was chosen that was the next akin. King Agis, the brother of Agesilaus, was dead: He had left a son, Leotychides *by name*, whom he, *when* alive, had not owned *for his*; *but* when dying, he had said that he was his. He contended for the honour of the kingdom with his uncle Agesilaus; nor did he get what he sought for; for Agesilaus was preferred before him, Lysander making interest for him; a man (as we have shewn above) of considerable sway, and powerful at that time.

CAP. II. Hic, simul atque imperii potius est, persuasit Lacedæmoniis ut exercitum emitterent in Asiam, bellumque regi facerent, docens, satiùs esse in Asiâ, quàm in Europâ dimicare: namque fama exiêrat Artaxerxem comparare classem, pedestresque exercitus, quos in Græciam mitteret. Datâ potestate, tantâ celeritate usus est, ut priùs in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit, quàm regii satrapæ eum scirent profectum; quo factum est, ut omnes imparatos imprudentesque offenderet. Id ut cognovit Tissaphernes, qui summum imperium tum inter præfectos habebat regios, inducias à Lacone petivit, simulans se dare operam, ut Lacedæmoniis cum rege conveniret; re autem verâ, ad copias comparandas; easque impetravit trimestres. Juravit autem uterque, se sine dolo inducias conservaturum: In quâ pactione, summâ fide mansit Agesilaus. Contra ea, Tissaphernes nihil aliud quàm bellum

CHAP. II. He, as soon as he got the kingdom, persuaded the Lacedæmonians, that they should send an army into Asia, and make war upon the king, telling them that it was better to fight in Asia than Europe; for a rumour was got abroad, that Artaxerxes was fitting out a fleet, and *raising* land forces to send into Greece. Leave being granted him, he made use of so much expedition, that he came into Asia with his troops, before the king's viceroys knew that he was set forward; from whence it was that he found them all unprovided, and unaware of him. As soon as Tissaphernes understood it, who had then the greatest power amongst the king's governors, he desired a truce of the Lacedæmonian, pretending that he would do his endeavours that the Lacedæmonians should agree with the king; but indeed to raise troops; and he obtained it for three months. But each of them swore that he would observe the truce without fraud: In which agreement Agesilaus continued with the greatest punctuality. On the other hand, Tissaphernes did nothing else but levy war. Altho'

comparavit. Id etsi sentiebat Laco, tamen iusjurandum servabat, multumque in eo consequi se dicebat, quod Tissaphernes perjurio suo et homines suis rebus abalienaret, et deos sibi iratos redderet: se autem servatâ religione, confirmare exercitum, quum animadverteret, deorum numen facere secum, hominesque sibi conciliari amiciores, quod his studere consuissent, quos conservare fidem viderent.

CAP. III. Postquam induciarum preterit dies, barbarus non dubitans, quod ipsius erant plurima domicilia in Caria, et ea regio his temporibus multo putabatur locupletissima, eò potissimum hostes impetum facturos, omnes suas copias eò contraxerat. At Agesilaus in Phrygiam se convertit, eamque prius depopulatus est, quam Tissaphernes usquam se moveret. Magna prædâ militibus locupletatis, Ephesum hyematum exercitum reduxit; atque ibi, officinis armorum institutis, magnâ

the Lacedæmonian perceived that, yet he kept his oath, and said that he got much by it, because Tissaphernes both alienated men from his interest, and made the gods angry with him by his perjury: but that he, by keeping his oath, encouraged his army, since they observed that the power of the gods was for them; and men were made more friends to them, because they were accustomed to favour those whom they observed to keep their faith.

CHAP. III. After the time of the truce was expired, the Barbarian not doubting because he had a great many seats in Caria, and that country was thought *to be* far the richest at that time, that the enemies would make their inroads there chiefly, had drawn all his troops thither. But Agesilaus turns into Phrygia, and wasted that, before Tissaphernes could stir any whither. Having enriched his soldiers with abundance of plunder, he drew back his army to Ephesus to winter; and there having set up forges for arms, he prepared for war with great industry. And that *his troops*

industriâ bellum apparavit. Et quo studiosius armarentur, insignisque ornarentur, præmia proposuit, quibus donarentur, quorum egregia in eâ re fuisset industria. Fecit idem in exercitationum generibus, ut qui cæteris præstitissent, eos magnis afficeret muneribus. His igitur rebus effecit, ut et ornatissimum et exercitissimum haberet exercitum. Huic quum tempus esset visum copias extrahere ex hybernaculis, vidit si, quò esset iter factururus, palam pronunciasset; hostes non credituros, aliasque regiones occupaturos, nec dubitatu- ros, aliud esse facturum ac pronunciasset; Itaque quum ille Sardeis se iturum dixisset, Tissaphernes eandem Cariam defendendam putavit. In quo quum eum opinio fefellisset, victumque se vidisset consilio, serò suis præsidio profectus est. Nam, quum illò venisset, jam Agesilaus, multis locis expugnatis, magnâ erat prælia potius. Laco autem, quum

might be the more carefully armed, and more finely adorned, he proposed rewards, with which they should be presented whose industry was extraordinary in that matter. He did the same in *all* sorts of exercises, that them who excelled the rest, he honoured with great presents. By these means therefore he effected that he had his army both very well furnished *with all things*, and very well exercised. As soon as it appeared to him time to draw his troops out of their winter quarters, he saw, that if he declared openly whither he was going to march, the enemies would not believe it, and would take care of other parts, and would not doubt that he would do quite another thing than what he gave out: Wherefore, when he had declared, that he would march for Sardeis, Tissaphernes thought that the same *country* of Caria ought to be defended by him. In which matter when his opinion had deceived him, and he saw himself outwitted, he came too late for the protection of his *subjects*. For when he was come thither, Agesilaus, having already taken many places, had got

videret hostes equitatu superare, nunquam in campo sui fecit potestatem, et his locis manum conseruit, quibus plùs pedestres copiarum valerent. Pepulit ergo, quotiescunque congressus est, multo majores adversariorum copias; et sic in Asia versatus est, ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.

CAP. IV. Hic quum animo meditaretur proficisci in Persas, et ipsum regem adoriri; nuncius ei domo venit ephorum jussu, bellum Athenienses et Bæotios indixisse Lacedæmoniis; quare venire non dubitaret. In hoc, non minus ejus pietas suscipienda est, quam virtus bellica: qui quum victori præset exercitui, maximamque haberet fiduciam regni Persarum potiundi; tantâ modestiâ dicto audiens fuit jussis absentium magistratum, ut si privatus in comitio esset Spartæ. Cujus exemplum utinam imperatores nostri sequi voluissent! Sed illuc redeamus. Agesi-

abundance of plunder. But the Lacedæmonian, seeing the enemy exceeded *him* in horse, never gave them an opportunity of *fighting* him in the plain, and engaged in those places, in which foot would be of most service. Wherefore he routed a much bigger army of the enemies, as oft as he fought *them*; and behaved so in Asia, that he was reckoned the conqueror in all people's opinion.

CHAP. IV. Whilst he was proposing in *his own* mind to march into *the country* of the Persians, and attack the king himself; a messenger came to him from home, by the order of the ephori, *to tell him*, that the Athenians and the Bæotians had proclaimed war against the Lacedæmonians; for which reason he should not delay to come *home*. In this, his regard to his country is no less to be admired, than his warlike bravery; who, though he commanded a victorious army, and had a very great assurance of mastering the kingdom of the Persians, was, with so much modesty obedient to the orders of the absent magistrates, as if he had been a private person in the forum of Sparta. Whose

laus oppulentissimo regno præposuit bonam existimationem, multòque gloriosius duxit, si institutis patriæ paruisset, quàm si bello superàssset Asiam. Hâc igitur mente Hells Pontum copias trajecit, tantaque usus est celeritate, ut quod iter Xerxes anno vertente confecerat, hic transiêrit trigintadiebus. Quum jam haud longè abesset à Peloponneso, obsistere ei conati sunt Athenienses et Bœotii, cæterique eorum socii apud Coroneam, quos omnes gravi prælio vicit. Hujus victoriæ vel maxima fuit laus, quòd quum plerique ex fugâ se in templum Minervæ conjecissent, quærereturque ab eo, quid his fieri vellet? Etsi aliquot vulnera acceperat eo prælio, et iratus videbatur omnibus, qui adversus arma tulerant, tamen antetulit iræ religionem, et eos

example (*a*) I wish our generals would have followed! But let us return to the business. Agesilaus preferred a good name before the most wealthy kingdom, and thought it much more glorious if he obeyed the laws of his country, than if he conquered Asia in war. With this mind therefore he drew his forces over the Hellespont, and used so much expedition, that he made in thirty days a march that Xerxes was a whole year about. When he was now not far from Peloponnesus, the Athenians and Bœotians and the rest of their allies, endeavoured to oppose him at (*b*) Coronea; all which he conquered in a great battle. It was the most commendable thing in this victory, that when a great many after the rout had thrown themselves into the temple of Minerva, and it was asked him what he would have done with them? Altho' he had received some wounds in that bat-

(*a*) In these words our author had a respect to Julius Cæsar chiefly, who refused to disband his army at the command of the Senate; which was the occasion of the civil war, that ended in the ruin of the liberty and the glory of Rome together.

(*b*) A city of Bœotia.

vetuit violari. Neque hoc solum in Græciâ fecit, ut templa deorum sancta haberet; sed etiam, apud barbaros, summâ religione, omnia simulacra arasque conservavit. Itaque prædica-
bat, Mirari se, non sacrilegorum numero haberi, qui supplicibus eorum nocuissent, aut non gravioribus pœnis affici, qui religionem minuerent quàm qui fana spoliâr-
int,

CAP. V. Post hoc prælium, collatum est omne bellum circa Corinthum, ideoque Corinthium est appellatum. Hic, quum unâ pugna decem millia hostium, Agesilao duce, cecidissent, eoque facto opes adversariorum debilitatæ viderentur; tantum abfuit ab insolentiâ gloriæ, ut commiseratus sit fortunam Græciæ, quod tam multi à se victi, vicio adversariorum, con-
cidissent. Namque illâ

tle, and seemed angry with them all who had born arms against *him*, yet he preferred his religion before *the gratifying his* resentment, and forbade them to be hurt. Nor did he do this only in Greece, that is, treat the temples of the gods *as* sacred; but likewise preserved *even* amongst the barbarians, all the images *of the gods*, and altars, with the highest veneration. Wherefore he said, he wondered that those were not accounted in the number of sacrilegious *villains*, who hurt their suppliants, or that they were not punished with more heavy punishments, who prejudiced religion, than those who robbed temples.

CHAP. V. After this battle the whole of the war was drawn together about Corinth, and therefore was called the Corinthian war. Here, when ten thousand of the enemy had been slain in one battle, *wherein* Agesilaus was general, and the strength of the enemy seemed broken by that action; he was so far from the insolence of boasting, that he lamented the fortune of Greece, that so many, by the fault of the enemies, *had been* conquered by him, and fallen. For with

multitudine, si sana mens esset Græciæ, supplicium Persas dare potuisset. Idem quum adversarios intra mœnia compulisset, et ut Corinthum oppugnaret multi hortarentur, negavit id suæ virtuti convenire: Se enim eum esse dixit, qui ad officium peccantes redire cogeret; non qui urbes nobilissimas expugnaret Græciæ. Nam si (inquit) extinguere volumus qui nobiscum adversus barbaros steterunt, nosmetipsi nos expugnaverimus, illis qui-
escentibus: quo facto, sine negotio, quum voluerint, nos oppriment.

CAP. VI. Interim accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra Lacedæmoniis; quo ut proficisceretur quum à plerisque ad ex-eundum premeretur, ut si de exitu divinaret, ex-ire noluit. Idem, quum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret, essetque sine muris oppidum, ta-lem se imperatorem præbuit, ut eo tempore omnibus, apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram non fuisse. In

that number of *men*, the Per-
sians might have been pun-
ished by Greece, if they had
but a right mind. The same
man, after he had forced the
enemies within their walls,
and many advised him to at-
tack Corinth, he denied that
was agreeable to his conduct:
For he said, he was one who
would force offenders to re-
turn to their duty: not take
the noblest cities of Greece:
For if, says he, we have a
mind to ruin those who have
sided with us against the bar-
barians, we shall conquer
ourselves whilst they are
quiet; after which, they will,
without difficulty, subdue us
when they please.

CHAP. VI. In the mean
time that calamity at Leuc-
tra befel the Lacedæmonians;
whither tho' he was pressed
by a great many to go, as if
he had had a divine foresight
of the event he would not go.
The same *man*, when Epa-
minondas attacked Sparta,
and the town was without
walls, shewed himself such a
general, that at that time it
was visible to all *people* that
unless he had been *there*,
Sparta would not have been
any more. In which danger

quo quidem discrimine, celeritas ejus consilii saluti fuit universis. Nam quum quidam adolescentuli, hostium adventu perterriti, ad Thebanos transfugere vellent, et locum extra urbem editum cepissent: Agesilaus, qui perniciosissimum fore videret, si animadversum esset quenquam ad hostes transfugere conari, cum suis eo venit, atque, ut si bono animo fecissent, laudavit consilium eorum, quod eum locum occupassent, et se id quoque fieri debere animadvertisse. Sic adolescentulos simulatâ laudatione recuperavit; et adjunctis de suis comitibus, locum tutum reliquit: namque illi, aucto numero eorum, qui expertes erant consilii, commovere se non sunt ausi; eoque libentiùs, quod latere arbitrabantur, quæ cogitarent.

the quickness of his contrivance was the preservation of *them* all. For when certain young men, affrighted with the approach of the enemy intended to run over to the Thebans, and had seized a high place without the city: Agesilaus, who saw that that would be of the most pernicious *consequence*, if it should be observed, that any one endeavoured to fly over to the enemy, came with *some of* his men thither; and as if they had done it with a good intention, commended their thought in that they had seized that place, and that he had observed, that ought to be done. Thus he recovered the young fellows by a pretended commendation of *them*; and having joined some of his attendants *with them*, he left the place safe; for they, (*a*) their number being encreased *with those* who were acquainted with the design, durst not stir; and *they staid* the more willingly because they thought that what they had intended was not known.

(*a*) Our author has expressed himself here improperly: For it is visible he intended what I have expressed in my translation. But it is as visible to any attentive reader, that his words will not bear that sense, nor, indeed, any good sense at all.

CAP. VII. Sine dubio, post Leuctricam pugnam, Lacedæmonii se nunquam refecerunt neque pristinum imperium recuperârunt: quum, interim, Agesilaus non destitit quibuscunque rebus posset, patriam juvare. Nam quum præcipuè Lacedæmonii indigerent pecuniâ, ille omnibus, qui à rege defece- rant, præsidio fuit; à quibus magnâ donatus pecuniâ, patriam sublevavit. Atque in hoc illud imprimis fuit admirabile; quum maxima munera ei ab regibus, et dynastis, civitatibusque conferrentur, nihil unquam in domum suam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de vestitu Laco- num mutavit: domo câdem fuit contentus quâ Eurysthenes, progenitor majorum suorum, fue- rat usus; quam qui in- trârât, nullum signum libidinis, nullum luxuriæ videre poterat: contra, plurima patientiæ atque abstinentiæ. Sic enim erat instructa, ut nulla in re differret à cujusvis inopis atque privati.

CHAP. VII. Without doubt, after the battle of Leuctra, the Lacedæmonians never re- covered themselves, nor re- gained their former power; whilst, in the mean time, Agesilaus did not cease to help his country, by whatso- ever means he could. For when the Lacedæmonians very much wanted money, he was the security of all *those* that had revolted from the king; by whom being pre- sented with a great *sum* of money, he relieved his coun- try. And in this *man* this was above all other things to be admired; when very great presents were made him by kings and princes and states, he brought noth- ing ever to his own home, changed nothing of the diet and dress of the Lacedæmo- nians: He was content with the same house, which Eu- rysthenes, the progenitor of his forefathers, had used; which he that entered, could see no sign of lust, no *sign* of luxury; *but* on the other hand, many of hardiness and justice. For it was so fur- nished, that it differed in nothing from *the house* of any poor and private person.

CAP. VIII. Atque hic tantus vir, ut naturam faultricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore, exiguus, et claudus altero pede. Quæ res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem: atque ignoti, faciem ejus quum intuerentur, contemnebant: qui autem virtutem noverant, non poterant admirari satis. Quod ei usu venit, quum annorum octoginta subsidio Thaco in Ægyptum ivisset, et in actâ cum suis accubisset, sine ullo tecto, stratumque haberet tale, ut terra tecta esset stramentis, neque huc ampliùs quàm pellis esset injecta; eodemque comites omnes accubissent, vestitu humili, atque obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modò in his regem neminem significaret; sed hominis non beatissimi suspicionem præberet. Hujus de adventu fama quum ad regios esset perlata, celeriter munera eò cujusque generis

CHAP. VIII. And this so great a man, as he had had nature a favourer of him, in bestowing the endowments of the mind on him, so he found her mischievous in his body, being little, and lame of one foot. Which thing occasioned likewise some deformity; and strangers, when they beheld his person, despised him; but they, who knew his ability, could not admire him sufficiently. Which happened to him when he went, at fourscore years of age, into Egypt, to the relief of Thacus, and was laid upon the shore with his men, without any covering, and had such a convenience for lying on, that the earth was *but* covered with straw, and nothing more than a skin thrown upon it; and all his attendants likewise laid upon the same, in mean and threadbare cloaths, that their dress did not only set forth, that none amongst them was a king; but gave a suspicion of a person *there* not very rich. When the news of his coming was brought to the courtiers, presents were quickly brought him of every kind. (a) Scarcely was a

(a) This is to my thinking, as pretty a picture, as is any where to be met with in all antiquity, and enough to give a man a distaste

sunt allata. His quærentibus Agesilaum, vix fides facta est, unum esse ex his qui tum accubabant. Qui quum regis verbis, quæ attulerant, dedissent, ille præter vitulina et hujusmodi genera obsonii, quæ præsens tempus desiderabat, nihil accepit; unguenta, coronas, secundamque mensam servis dispersit: cætera referri jussit. Quo facto eum barbari magis etiam contempserunt, quod eum ignorantia bonarum rerum illa potissimum sumsisse arbitrabantur. Hic quum ex Ægypto reverteretur, donatus à rege Nectanebe ducentis viginti talentis, quæ ille muneri populo suo daret, venissetque in portum, qui Menelai vocatur, persuasionem wrought in them, *upon* enquiring for Agesilaus, that he was one of those that then lay there. Who; when they had given him in the king's name what they had brought, took nothing but veal, and such sorts of victuals which the present occasion required; he divided the sweet ointments, crowns, and sweatmeats amongst the slaves, *and* commanded the rest to be carried back. Upon which the barbarians despised him still the more, because they thought he had made choice of those things out of ignorance of what was good. When he returned from Egypt, being presented by king Nectanebus with two hundred *and* twenty talents, to give *as* a present to his people, and was come into the harbour which is called Menelaus, lying betwixt (*a*)

for the vanities and fopperies that human life is so much cumbered and crowded with. Methinks, I see a parcel of empty, gay fluttering fops, that had no relish for any thing truly great and good, expressing, by their sneers and scornful air, a contempt for the greatest endowments of the human mind, because not set off with what alone they were capable of admiring; whilst the glorious man, with a sedateness suitable to his grandeur, and a perfect sense of the folly of the sorry animals about him, and as hearty a contempt for their opinion of him, satisfies the necessities of nature in the most proper manner, and leaves them to sneer on.

(*a*) A city of Africa, upon the Mediterranean, west from Egypt.

tur, jacens inter Cyrenas et Ægyptum; in morbum implicatus decessit. Ibi eum amici, quò Spartam faciliùs perferre possent, quòd mel non habebant, cerâ circumfuderunt, atque ita domum retulerunt.

Cyrene and Egypt; falling into a distemper, he died. There his friends, that they might the more conveniently carry him to Sparta, because they had no (a) honey, wrapped him in wax; and so brought him home.

XVIII.

EUMENES,
Cardianus.

CAP. I.

EUMENES Cardianus. Hujus si virtuti par data esset fortuna, non ille quidem major, sed multò illustrior, atque etiam honoratior: quòd magnos homines virtute metimur, non fortunâ. Nam quum ætas ejus incidisset in ea tempora, quibus Macedones florent, multum ei detraxit, inter eos viventi, quòd alienæ erat civitatis. Neque aliud huic defuit, quàm generosa stirps: etsi enim ille domestico

XVIII.

EUMENES,
The Cardian.

CHAP. I.

EUMENES the Cardian. If fortune had been allotted him equal to his great abilities, he *would* not indeed *have been* a greater man, but much more illustrious, and, likewise, more honourable; because we measure great men by their great qualities, and not by their fortune. For his life having fallen in those times, in which the Macedonians flourished, it took from him very much, as he lived amongst them, that he was of a foreign nation. Nor was any thing

(b) The Spartans made use of honey in embalming dead bodies.

summo genere erat, tamen Macedones eum sibi aliquando anteponi, indignè ferebant. Neque tamen non patiebantur; vincebat enim omnes curâ, vigilantîâ, patientiâ, calliditate et celeritate ingenii. Hic, peradolescens, ad amicitiam accessit Philippi, Amyntæ filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem; fulgebat enim jam in adolescentulo indoles virtutis. Itaque eum habuit ad manum, scribæ loco; quod multò apud Graios honorificentius est, quàm apud Romanos: nam apud nos revera, sicut sunt, mercenarii scribæ existimantur; at apud illos, contrariò, nemo ad id officium admittitur, nisi honesto loco, et fide, et industriâ cognitâ; quòd necesse est omnium consiliorum eum esse participem. Hunc locum tenuit amicitiae apud Philippum annos septem. Isto interfecto, eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim. Novissimo tempore præfuit etiam alteri

else wanting to him, but a noble descent: For though he was of the highest quality at home, yet the Macedonians took it heinously, that he was sometimes preferred before them. Neither yet did they not bear with it; for he excelled them all in care, vigilance, hardiness, subtilty, and quickness of parts. He, *when* a very young man, was admitted to the friendship of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and in a short time came to an intimate familiarity *with him*: For even then there appeared in him, *though* very young, an able genius. Wherefore he kept him with him in the place of a secretary; which is much more honourable amongst the Greeks than amongst the Romans; for with us secretaries are accounted in reality, as *they* are, hirelings: but with them, on the contrary, nobody is admitted to that office, unless of a good family, and known integrity and industry; because it is necessary for him to be a sharer in all counsels. He held this post of friendship under Philip seven years. After he was slain, he was in the same place under Alexander thirteen years. At last likewise he com-

equitum alæ, quæ *Hetærice* appellabatur. Utrique autem et in concilio semper affuit, et omnium rerum habitus est particeps.

CAP. II. Alexandro Babylone mortuo, quum regna singulis familiaribus dispertirentur, et summa rerum tradita esset tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens anulum suum dederat, Perdiccæ: ex quo omnes conjecerant, eum regnum ei commendâsse, quoad liberi ejus in suam tutelam pervenisent: (aberant enim Craterus et Antipater, qui antecedere hunc videbantur: mortuus erat Hephæstio, quem unum Alexander, quod facile intelligi posset, plurimi fecerat) hoc tempore data est Eumeni Cappadocia, sive potius dicta; nam tum in hostium erat potestate. Hunc sibi Perdiccas adjunxerat magno studio, quod

manded one wing of horse, which was called (a) *hetarice*. He was with both of them always one in the council, and was treated as an associate in all affairs.

CHAP. II. Alexander dying at Babylon, when kingdoms were distributed to each of his friends, and the chief management of affairs was delivered to him to take care of, to whom Alexander, *when* dying, had given his ring, to Perdiccas: From whence all had conjectured, that he had recommended his kingdom to him, till his children should come *to be* in their own tuition (for Craterus and Antipater were absent, who seemed to be before him: Hephæstio was dead, whom Alexander, as might be easily understood, had valued very highly;) at this time Cappadocia was given to Eumenes, or rather named *for him*; for then it was in the power of the enemies. Him Perdiccas had engaged to him with great earnestness, because he saw in the man

(a) *Ala* is used for the wing of an army consisting of horse, whether more or less; but here it is put for a certain standing body of horse, called *Hetarice*, because it was made up of gentlemen that were associates, or companions of the king.

EUMENES.

in homine fidem et industriam magnam videbat; non dubitans, si eum pellexisset, magno usui fore sibi in his rebus, quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim (quod ferè omnes in magnis imperiis concupiscunt) omnium partes corripere atque amplecti. Neque verò hoc solus fecit, sed cæteri quoquè omnes, qui Alexandri fuerant amici. Primus Leonatus Macedoniam præoccupare destinaverat: Is multis magnis pollicitationibus persuadere Eumeni studuit, ut Perdiccam desereret, ac secum faceret societatem. Quum perducere eum non posset, interficere conatus est; et fecisset, nisi ille clam noctu ex præsidiis ejus effugisset.

CAP. III. Interim conflata sunt illa bella, quæ ad internecionem, post Alexandri mortem, gesta sunt; omnesque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum: Quem etsi infirmum videbat, quòd unus omnibus resistere cogeatur, tamen amicum non deseruit: neque salutis

great integrity and industry; not doubting, if he could *but* wheedle him over, that he would be of great service to them in those things which he had in agitation. For he intended (what commonly all in great empires covet) to seize and take in the shares of all *the rest*. Nor did he alone do this, but likewise all the rest, who had been Alexander's friends. First Leonatus had intended to seize upon Macedonia; he endeavoured to persuade Eumenes, by many *and* great promises, to forsake Perdiccas and to make an alliance with him. When he could not bring him to, he attempted to kill him; and had done it, unless he had privately escaped in the night-time out of his garrisons.

CHAP. III. In the mean time those wars broke out, which, after the death of Alexander, were carried on to the utter ruin *of the parties*; and all agreed together to ruin Perdiccas: Whom though he saw *but* weak, because he alone was forced to stand against them all, yet he did not forsake his friend; nor was he more desirous of

quàm fidei fuit cupidior. Præfecerat eum Perdiccas ei parti Asiæ, quæ inter Taurum montem jacet atque Hellespontum: et illum unum opposuerat Europæis adversariis: ipse Ægyptum oppugnatum adversus Ptolemæum erat profectus. Eumenes, quum neque magnas copias, neque firmas haberet, quod inexercitatus, et non multò antè erant contractus; adventare autem dicerentur, Hellespontumque transisse Antipater et Craterus, magno cum exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate, tum usu belli præstantes: (Macedones verò milites ea tunc erant famâ, quâ nunc Romani feruntur: etenim semper habiti sunt fortissimi, qui summa imperii potirentur) Eumenes intelligebat, si copiæ suæ cognoscerent, adversus quos ducerentur, non modo non ituras, sed simul cum nuncio dilapsuras: Itaque hoc ejus fuit prudentissimum consilium, ut deviis itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera

his *own* security, than of *preserving* his honour. Perdiccas had set him over that part of Asia, which lies betwixt Mount Taurus and the Hellespont; and had posted him alone against *all his* European adversaries: He himself had marched against Ptolemy, to invade Egypt. Eumenes, though he had neither a great army, nor a strong one, because it was unexercised, and raised not long before, and Antipater and Craterus were said to be coming, and to have passed the Hellespont with a great army of Macedonians, men, excelling both in fame and experience in war: (For the Macedonian soldiers were then in that repute in which the Romans now are reckoned; for they have been always accounted the most valiant who held the chief sway *in the world*.) Eumenes was sensible, if his troops understood against whom they were led, that they would not only not march, but would slip away with the news *of it*. Wherefore this contrivance of his was very prudent, to lead his soldiers by out-of-the-way marches, in which they could not hear the truth; and to persuade them, that

audire non possent; et his persuaderet, se contra quosdam barbaros proficisci. Itaque tenuit hoc propositum et prius in aciem exercitum eduxit, præliumque commisit, quàm milites sui scirent, cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam illud locorum præoccupatione, ut equitatu potius dimicaret, quo plus valebat, quàm peditatu, quo erat deterior.

CAP. IV. Quorum acerrimo concursu quum magnam partem diei esset pugnatum, cadit Craterus dux, et Neoptolemus, qui secundum locum imperii tenebat. Cum hoc concurrat ipse Eumenes; qui quum inter se complexi in terram ex equis decidissent, ut facile intelligi posset inimicâ mente contendisse, animoque magis etiam pugnâsse, quàm corpore: non prius distracti sunt, quàm alterum anima reliquerit. Ab hoc aliquot plagis Eumenes vulneratur: neque eò magis ex prælio excessit, sed acrius hostibus institit. Hic,

he was marching against some Barbarians. And accordingly he carried his point, and drew his army out into the field, and joined battle, before his soldiers knew with whom they were engaged. He likewise gained that point, by his timely seizing of places, that he fought more with his horse, in which he was stronger, than with his foot, in which he was *but* weak.

CHAP. IV. After they had fought in a very desperate engagement, a great part of the day, Craterus the general falls, and Neptolemus too, who had the second post of command. With him Eumenes himself engages; who, when grappling one another, they had fallen to the ground from their horses, that it might easily be understood that they had engaged with a pernicious intention, and fought more with mind than body, were not separated, before life left one of them. Eumenes is wounded by him with some strokes; nor did he for that go out of the battle, but pressed more briskly upon the enemy. Here, the horse being routed, their ge-

equitibus profligatis, interfecto duce Cratero, multis præterea et maxime nobilibus captis; pedestris exercitus, quod in ea loca erat deductus, ut invito Eumene elabi non posset, pacem ab eo petit: quam quum impetrasset, in fide non mansit, et se simul ac potuit, ad Antipatrum recepit. Eumenes Craterum ex acie semivivum elatum recreare studuit; quum id non potuisset, pro hominis dignitate proque pristina amicitia (namque illo usus erat, Alexandro vivo familiariter) amplo funere extulit, ossaque in Macedoniam uxori ejus ac liberis remisit.

CAP. V. Hæc dum apud Hellespontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud flumen Nilum interficitur à Seleuco et Antigono; rerumque summa ad Antipatrum defertur. Hic, qui deseruerant, exercitu suffragium ferente, capitis absentes damnantur: in his Eumenes. Hæc ille perculsus plagâ, non suc-

neral Craterus slain, many besides, and especially noblemen, being taken: the infantry, because they were got into those places, from whence they could not escape without Eumenes's leave, begged peace of him; which when they had obtained, they did not continue in their engagement, and withdrew themselves, as soon as they could, to Antipater. Eumenes endeavoured to recover Craterus, being carried half alive out of the field: When he could not *do* that, he buried him with a noble funeral, according to the dignity of a man, and their former friendship (for he had been very familiar with him, *whilst* Alexander *was* living;) and sent his bones into Macedonia to his wife and children.

CHAP. V. Whilst these things are done at the Hellespont, Perdiccas was slain at the river Nile, by Seleucus and Antigonus; and the chief direction of affairs is conferred upon Antipater. Here, they who had forsaken *them*, the army giving their votes, are condemned in their absence *to the loss* of life: Amongst these *was* Eumenes. He, being shocked with

cubuit, neque eo secius bellum administravit. Sed exiles res animi magnitudinem etsi non frangebant, tamen imminuebant. Hunc persequens Antigonus, quum omni genere copiarum abundaret, sæpe in itineribus vexabatur, neque unquam ad manum accedere licebat, nisi his locis, quibus multis possent pauci resistere. Sed extremo tempore, quum consilio capi non posset, multitudo circumventus est: Hinc tamen, multis suis amissis, se expedivit: et in castellum Phrygiæ, quod Nora appellatur, confugit: In quo, cùm circum sederetur, et vereretur, ne uno loco manens, equos militares perderet, quòd spatium non esset agitandi; callidum fuit ejus inventum, quemadmodum stans jumentum calefieri exerceri que posset, quò libentiùs et cibo uteretur, et à corporis motu non removeretur. Substringebat caput loro altius, quam ut prioribus pedibus planè terram posset attingere; deinde post

this stroke, *yet* did not sink under it, nor ever a whit the less go on with the war. But little things, though they did not break the greatness of his mind, yet they lessened it. Antigonus pursuing him, though he abounded in all sorts of troops, was often *sadly* plagued *by him* in his marches, nor could he ever come to strokes, but in those places in which a few might resist many. But at last, when he could not be taken by conduct, he was surrounded by their vast number; yet he got clear from hence *too*, many of his men being lost, and fled into a castle of Phrygia, which is called Nora: In which, when he was besieged, and afraid, lest, *by* staying in one place, he should spoil his war horses, because there was no room to exercise them; his invention was cunning, how a horse might be warmed and exercised standing, that he might both eat his provender more freely, and not be kept from bodily motion. He tied up his head with a leathern strap, higher than he could quite touch the ground with his fore feet; then he forced him, with lashing behind, to bounce, and throw back his

verberibus cogebat exultare, et calces remittere: qui motus non minùs sudorem excutiebat, quàm si in spatio decurrerent. Quo factum est, quod omnibus mirabile est visum, ut iumenta æque nitida ex castello educeret, quum complures menses in obsidione fuisset, ac si in campetribus ea locis habuisset. Eâ conclusionem, quotiescunque voluit, et apparatus et munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias disiecit. Tenuit autem se uno loco, quamdiu fuit hyems, quòd castra sub dio habere non poterat. Ver appropinquabat, simulatâ deditione, dum de conditionibus tractat, præfectis Antigoni imposuit, seque ac suos omnes extraxit incolumes.

CAP. VI. Ad hunc Olympias, mater quæ fuerat Alexandri, quum literas et nuncios misisset in Asiam, consultum utrum repetitum veniret Macedoniam, (nam tum in Epiro habitabat) et eas res occuparet: huic ille primùm suavit, ne se moveret, et

heels: which motion fetched the sweat no less, than if they had run in the open field. By which was effected that which seemed wonderful to all, that he drew his horses as neat out of the castle, though he had been several months under a siege, as if he had had them in the open fields. In that siege, as often as he had a mind, he one while set on fire, and another while tore a-pieces, all the works and fortifications of Antigonus. But he kept himself in one place as long as it was winter, because he could not have a camp in the open air. Now spring approached, pretending to surrender, whilst he treats upon the terms, he imposed upon the commanders of Antigonus, and drew off himself and all his men safe.

CHAP. VI. When Olympias, who had been the mother of Alexander, had sent letters and messengers into Asia to him to consult *him*, whether she should come to recover Macedonia, (for she then lived in Epiro) and seize the government there: he first of all advised her not to stir, and to stay till the

expectaret, quoad Alexandri filius regnum adipisceretur: sin aliqua cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, omnium injuriarum oblivisceretur, et in neminem acerbior uteretur imperio. Horum nihil ea fecit; nam et in Macedoniam profecta est, et ibi crudelissimè se gessit. Petivit autem ab Eumene absente, ne pateretur Philippi domûs et familiæ inimicissimos regnare, amicissimos interire, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri: quam veniam, si sibi daret, quàm primùm exercitus pararet, quos sibi subsidio adduceret: id quò facilius faceret, se omnibus præfectis, qui in officio manebant, misisse literas, ut ei parerent, ejusque consiliis uterentur. His verbis Eumenes permotus, satiùs duxit, si ita tulisset fortuna, perire bene meritis referentem gratiam, quàm ingratum vivere.

CAP. VII. Itaque copias contraxit, bellum adversus Antigonum comparavit. Quod unà erant Macedones com-

son of Alexander should get the kingdom; but if she was carried by any strong desire for Macedonia, to forget all injuries, and to use a rigid government towards nobody. She did nothing of this: For she both went into Macedonia, and there behaved herself most cruelly. She begged too of Eumenes, *though* absent, that he would not suffer the bitter enemies of Philip's house and family to reign, *and* his best friends to perish, and bring assistance to the children of Alexander: Which favour, if he would do her, he might raise armies as soon as possible, to bring to their relief: That he might do that the more easily, she had written to all the governors of *provinces*, that continued in their duty, to obey him and take his advice. Eumenes being moved with these words *of her's*, thought it better, if fortune would have it so, to perish *in* making a return to those that had deserved well from him, than to live ungrateful.

CHAP. VII. Wherefore he got together troops, *and* prepared for a war against Antigonus. Because there were with him a great many noble

plures nobiles, in his Leuceſtes, qui corporis cuſtos fuerat Alexandri, tum autem obtinebat Perſidem; et Antigenes cujus ſub imperio phalanx erat Macedonum, invidiam verens (quam tamen effugere non potuit) ſi potiùs ipſe alienigena ſummi imperii poſtuleretur, quàm alii Macedonum, quorum ibi erat multitudo; in principiis nomine Alexandri ſtauit tabernaculum, in eoque ſellam auream, cum ſceptro et diadema, juſſit poni, eoque omnes quotidie convenire, ut ibi de ſummis rebus conſilia caperentur; credens minore ſe invidiâ fore, ſi ſpecie imperii, nominis que ſimulatione Alexandri, bellum videretur adminiſtrare: quod et fecit; nam quum non ad Eumenis principia, ſed ad regia conveniretur, atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodammodo

Macedonians, and amongſt them Leuceſtes, who had been a life-guard man of Alexander's, and at that time held Perſia; and Antigenes, under whoſe command the phalanx of the Macedonians was, fearing envy (which yet he could not eſcape) if he a ſtranger ſhould rather have the chief command, than others of the Macedonians, of which there was a great number there; he erects a tent in the (a) Principia, in the name of Alexander, and ordered a gold chair, with a ſceptre and a diadem, to be placed in it, and all to repair thither every day, that there counſel might be taken about important matters; thinking that he ſhould be under leſs envy, if he appeared to manage the war, under ſhow of the command, and under pretence of the name of Alexander: which he likewise did; for as they did not meet at the Principia of Eumenes, but at the king's, and there debated about their affairs, he in a manner was conceal-

(a) The *Principia* was that place in the camp where the general's tent was, where the ſtandards were ſtuck in the earth, during the encampment; there likewise courts, for the cognizance of miſdeemeanors, and councils of war, were held.

latebat, quum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.

CAP. VIII. Hic in Parætacis cum Antigono confluxit, non acie instructâ, sed in itinere; eumque malè acceptum in Mediam hyëmatum coëgit redire. Ipse in finitima regione Persidis hyëmatum copias divisit; non ut voluit, sed ut militum cogebat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quæ Asiam peragrârat, deviceratque Persas, inveteratâ cum gloriâ, tum etiam licentiâ, non parere se ducibus, sed imperare postulabat, ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri. Itaque periculum est ne faciant, quod illi fecerunt suâ intemperantiâ, nimiaque licentiâ, ut omnia perdant, neque minùs eos cum quibus steterint, quàm adversus quos fecerint. Quod si quis illorum veteranorum legat facta, paria horum cognoscat; neque rem ullam, nisi tempus, in-

ed, though notwithstanding all things were done by him alone.

CHAP. VIII. He engaged in *the country of the* (a) Parætaci, with Antigonus, not with his army regularly drawn up, but upon his march; and forced him, being ill handled, to return into Media to winter. He distributed his troops into winter quarters, in the neighbouring country of Persia, not as he had a mind, but as the pleasure of the soldiers obliged him. For that phalanx of Alexander the Great, which had overrun all Asia, and overcome the Persians, being grown old both in glory and licentiousness too, expected not to obey their generals, but to command them, as our veterans now do. Wherefore there is *some* danger, lest they should do what those did, by their disorderly behaviour, and extravagant licentiousness, ruin all, no less those with whom they have sided, than those against whom they fought. And if any one reads the actions of these veterans, he will find *the actions* of these

(a) A people of Persia.

teresse judicet. Sed ad illos revertar. Hyberna sumpserant, non ad usum belli, sed ad ipsorum luxuriam: longèque inter se discesserant. Hoc Antigonus quum comperisset, intelligeretque se parem non esse paratis adversariis, statuit aliquid sibi consilii novi esse capiendum. Duæ erant viæ, quæ ex Medis, ubi ille hyemabat, ad adversariorum hybernacula posset perveniri: quarum brevior per loca deserta; quæ nemo incolebat, propter aquæ inopiam: cæterum dierum erat ferè decem. Illa autem, quæ omnes commeabant, altero tanto longiorum habebat anfractum: sed erat copiosa, omniumque rerum abundans. Hæc si proficisceretur, intelligebat prius adversarios rescituros de suo adventu, quàm ille tertiam partem confecisset itineris sui: sin per loca sola contenderet, sperabat se imprudentem hostem oppressurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam, imperavit quàm plurimos utres atque eti-

of ours like them; nor will judge there is any thing *of difference* betwixt them, but *that* of time. But I shall return to them. They had taken up their winter quarters, not for the convenience of war, but for their own luxury; and had separated at a great distance from one another. When Antigonus had found this, and was sensible that he was not a match for his enemy prepared for him, he resolves to take some new course. There were two ways by which they might come from *the country* of the Medes, to the winter quarters of the enemies; the shorter of which was through desert places, which nobody inhabited, by reason of the scarcity of water: but it was *only* about ten days *march*. But the other, by which all people travelled, had a wind-about as long again; but it was plentiful, and abounding in all things. If he went this way, he was sensible his enemies would know of his coming, before he had made a third part of his march; but if he should go through the desert places, he hoped he should come upon the enemy unawares. For the doing of this matter, he or-

am culeos comparari; post hæc pabulum, præterea cibaria cocta, dierum decem, utque quàm minimè fieret ignis in castris. Iter quod habebat, omnes celat.

CAP. IX. Sic paratus, quàm constituerat, profiscitur. Dimidium ferè spatium confecerat, quum, ex fumo castrorum ejus, suspicio allata est ad Eumenem, hostem appropinquare. Conveniunt duces; quæritur quid opus sit facto. Intelligebant omnes tam celeriter copias ipsorum contrahi non posse, quàm Antigonus affuturus videbatur. Hic omnibus titubantibus, et de rebus summis desperantibus; Eumenes ait, Si celeritatem velint adhibere, et imperata facere, quod antè non fecerint, se rem expediturum; nam quod diebus quinque hostis transire posset, effecturum, ut non minùs totidem dierum spatio retardaretur. Quare circumirent, suas quisque copias contra-

dered a great many leathern bottles and sacks to be got together; after that forage, besides meat ready dressed for ten days, and that as little fire as possible should be made in the camp. He conceals from all people the march which he was about.

CHAP. IX. Being thus provided, he goes *the way* he had intended. He had got almost half way, when, from the smoke of the camp, a suspicion was brought to Eumenes that the enemy was coming. The generals met: It is debated amongst them, what was necessary to be done. They all knew, that their troops could not so soon be got together, as Antigonus seemed likely to be there. Here all of them hesitating *upon the matter*, and despairing of the main stake: Eumenes says, If they would *but* use expedition, and perform orders, which they had not done before, he would clear the matter: For whereas the enemies might pass in five days, he would take care that they should be retarded not less than as many days time. Wherefore *he ordered them* to go about, and every man to get together his troops. He takes this method

heret. Ad Antigoni autem refræmandum impetum tale capit consilium: Certos mittit homines ad infimos montes, qui obvii erant itineri adversariorum, hisque præcipit, ut primâ nocte quàm latissimè possint, ignes faciant quàm maximos; atque hos secunda vigilia minuant, tertia perexiguos reddant: et, assimulatâ castrorum consuetudine, suspicionem injiciant hostibus, his locis esse castra, ac de eorum adventu esse prænuntiatum; idemq; posterâ nocte faciant. Quibus imperatum erat, diligenter præceptum curant. Antigonus tenebris obortis, ignes conspicatur, credit de suo adventu esse auditum, et adversarios illuc suas contraxisse copias. Mutat consilium, et, quoniam imprudentes adoriri non posset, flectit iter suum, et illum anfractum longiorem copiosæ viæ capit: ibique diem unum opperitur ad lassitudinem sedandam militum, ac reficienda jumenta, quo integriore exercitu decerneret.

to retard the progress of Antigonus. He sends trusty men to the bottom of the mountains which were opposite to the enemy's march, and ordered them to make as large fires, and as far and wide, as they could, in the beginning of the night; and lessening them the second watch, make them very little the third; and, by imitating the usage of a camp, give the enemy a suspicion, that there was a camp in those parts, and that notice had been given of their coming; and to do the same the following night. They, to whom this order was given, take care *to execute* their order diligently. Antigonus, when the darkness of *night* began, sees the fires, believes that they had heard of his coming, and that the enemies had drawn their troops thither. He alters his design, and, because he could not set upon them unawares, he turns his march, and takes that longer wind of a plentiful rout: and there he stays one day, to relieve the weariness of his soldiers, and refresh the horses, that he might engage with his army in good condition.

CAP. X. Hic Eumenes callidum imperatorem vicit consilio, celeritatemque impedivit ejus; neque tamen multum profecit; nam invidia ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiæque militum Macedonum veteranorum, quum superior prælio discessisset, Antigono est deditus, quum exercitus ei ter antè, separatis temporibus, jurâset, se eum defensurum, nec unquam deserturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obtrectatio, ut fidem amittere mallent, quàm eum non prodere. Atque hunc Antigonus, quum ei fuisset infestissimus, conservâset, si per suos esset licitum, quòd ab nullo se plùs adjuvari posse intelligebat in his rebus, - quas impendere jam apparebat omnibus. Imminabant enim Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemæus, opibus jam valentes, cum quibus ei de summis rebus erat dimicandum. Sed non passi sunt ii, qui circa erant; quòd videbant, Eumene recepto, omnes præ illo

CHAP. X. Here Eumenes prevailed against this crafty general by his contrivance, and slackened his speed: but yet he did not much good; for through the envy of the generals with whom he was, and the treachery of the Macedonian veteran soldiers, tho' he came off superior in the battle, he was delivered up to Antigonus, though the army had sworn thrice before, at several times, that they would defend him, and never forsake him. But such was some people's endeavour to detract from his worth, that they chose rather to part with their honour than not betray him. Antigonus too would have saved him, though he had been very bitter against him, if he could but have done it for his friends, because he was sensible he could be more assisted by nobody, in those things, which now it was apparent to all people were ready to happen. For Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, mighty in strength, were coming upon him, with whom he would be obliged to engage for his all. But these that were about him did not suffer him; because they saw, that *if* Eumenes *was* enter-

parvi futuros. Ipse autem Antigonus adeò erat incensus, ut nisi magnâ spe maximarum rerum leniri non posset.

CAP. XI. Itaque, quum in custodiam dedisset, et præfectus custodum quæsisset quemadmodum servari vellet: Ut acerrimum, inquit, leonem, aut ferocissimum elephantum: Nondum enim statuerat, eum conservaret necne. Veniebat autem ad Eumenum utrumque genus hominum, et qui, propter odium, fructum oculis ex ejus casu capere vellent; et qui propter veterem amicitiam, colloqui consolarique cupe-
rent. Multi etiam, qui ejus formam cognoscere studebant, qualis esset, quem tamdiu tamque valde timuissent, cujus in pernicië positam spem habuissent victoriæ. At Eumenes, quum diutiùs in vinculis esset, ait Onomarcho, penes quem summa imperii erat custodiæ *se mirari, quare jam tertiam diem*

tained by him, they should all be of small account in comparison with him. But Antigonus himself was so incensed, that he could not be mollified, but by a great expectation of the greatest advantages.

CHAP. XI. Wherefore, when he had put him under confinement, and the commander of the guard had enquired how he would have him kept, he said, as a most furious lion, or a very fierce elephant: for he had not yet determined whether he should save him or no. Now both sorts of people came to Eumenes, those who, because of their hatred *of him*, had a mind to receive a satisfaction by their own eyes from his fall; and those who, because of their old friendship *for him*, desired to speak with him, and to comfort him: Many likewise, who were desirous to know his person, *and what sort of man* he was, whom they had feared so long, and so very much, in whose destruction they had placed their hopes of victory. But Eumenes, after he had been long in chains, says to Onomarchus, in whom the chief command of the guard was, *That he*

sic teneretur; non enim hoc convenire Antigoni prudentiæ, ut sic se uteretur victo; quin aut interfici, aut missum fieri juberet. Hic quum ferocius Onomarcho loqui videretur. Quid tu, inquit, animo si isto eras, cur non prælio cecidisti potius quàm in potestatem inimici venires? Huic Eumenes, Utinam quidem istud evenisset, inquit: sed eo non accidit, quòd, nunquam cum fortiore sum congressus: non enim cum quoquam arma conuli, quin is mihi succubuerit: Non enim virtute hostium, sed amicorum perfidiâ decidi. Neque id falsum; nam et dignitate fuit honestâ et viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis, neque tam magno corpore, quàm figurâ venustâ.

wondered why he was thus kept now the third day; for this was not agreeable to the prudence of Antigonus, thus to abuse him he had conquered; tha the should order him either to be slain, or to be discharged. As he seemed to Onomarchus to talk very boldly: What, says he, if you were of that mind, why did you not rather fall in battle, than come into the power of your enemy? To him Eumenes replied, I wish that had befallen me indeed; but it therefore did not happen, because I never engaged with a stouter than myself; for I did not fight with any one, but he fell under me: For I fell not by the bravery of my enemies, but by the treachery of my friends. Nor was that false; (a) for he was a man of genteel gracefulness of person, and of strength sufficient for the bearing of fatigue, yet not of so large a body, as a handsome shape.

- CAP. XII. De hoc Antigonus quum solus

CHAP. XII. As Antigonus durst not determine about

(a) This seems but an odd kind of reason for his being too hard for all he fought with. Had he encountered ladies with the like success, then indeed his *dignitas honesta*, his *venusta figura* might well be supposed to have stood him in a good stead; but what they could signify against hard bangs and cold iron, I cannot imagine.

constituere non auderet, ad concilium retulit. Hic, quum plerique omnes, animo perturbati, admirarentur, non jam de eo sumptum esse supplicium, à quo tot annos adeo essent malè habiti, ut sæpe ad desperationem forent adducti, quique maximos duces interfecisset; denique in quo uno esset tantum, ut, quoad ille viveret, ipsi securi esse non possent; interfecto, nihil habituri negotii essent: prostremò, si illi redderet salutem, quærebant, quibus amicis esset usus? Sese enim cum Eumene apud eum non futuros. Hic, cognitâ concilii voluntate, tamen usque ad septimum diem deliberandi sibi spatium reliquit: Tum autem, quum vereretur, ne qua seditio exercitus oriretur, vetuit ad eum quenquam admitti, et quotidianum victum amoveri jussit: nam negabat se ei vim allaturum, qui aliquando fuisset amicus. Hic tamen non ampliùs quàm tri-duum fame fatigatus,

him alone, he proposed the matter to a council. Here, when almost all of them, much disturbed in mind, wondered he was not already punished, by whom they had been so ill handled for so many years, that they were often brought to despair, and who had taken off the greatest generals; finally, in whom alone there was so much *weight*, that so long as he lived, they could not be secure: *If* he *was* slain, they should have no difficulty: Finally, if he gave him his life, they asked *him* what friends he intended to make use of; for they would not be with him, together with Eumenes. Having known the mind of the council, yet he left himself time to consider, till the seventh day: But then, when he was *now* afraid, lest any mutiny of the army should arise *upon* it, he forbade any one to be admitted to him, and ordered his daily food to be withdrawn; for he denied that he would offer violence to him, who had once been his friend. Yet he being tormented with hunger no more than three days, when the camp was removed, was butchered by his guards,

cùm castra moverentur, Antigonus being ignorant of the matter. insciente Antigono, jugulatus est à custodibus.

CAP. XIII. Sic Eumenes, annorum quinque et quadraginta, quum ab anno vigesimo (ut suprà ostendimus) septem annos Philippo apparuisset: et tredecim apud Alexandrum eundem locum obtinuisset: in his uni equitum alæ præfuisset; post autem Alexandri Magni mortem, imperator exercitus duxisset, summosque duces partim repulisset, partim interfecisset; captus, non Antigoni virtute, sed Macedonum perjurio, talem habuit exitum vitæ. De quo quanta fuerit omnium opinio eorum, qui post Alexandrum Magnum reges sunt appellati, ex hoc facillimè potest judicari: Quod nemo, Eumene vivo, rex appellatus est, sed præfectus. Iidem, post hujus occasum, statim regium ornatum nomenque sumserunt; neque quod initio prædicârant, se Alexandri liberis regnum servare, id præstare voluerunt: et uno pro-

CHAP. XIII. Thus Eumenes, being five and forty years old, after he had attended Philip as his secretary for seven years, from his twentieth year, (as we have shewn above) and had held the same place under Alexander thirteen; in which he commanded *only* one wing of the cavalry; but after Alexander's death had led armies as a general, and had partly defeated, and partly slain the greatest generals; being taken prisoner, not by the good conduct of Antigonus, but the perjury of the Macedonians, had this end of his life. Of whom how great the opinion of all those was, who were called kings after Alexander the great, may be very easily judged from hence; that none *whilst* Eumenes *was* alive, was named king, but governor: The same, after his fall, presently took *upon them* the regal habit and name *too*: Nor would they perform what, at first, they had given out, that they would keep the kingdom for the children of Alexander: And *this* their only protector being taken off, they disco-

pugnatore sublato, quid sentirent aperuerunt. Hujus sceleris principes fuerunt Antigonus, Ptolemæus, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Casander. Antigonus autem Eumenem mortuum, propinquis ejus sepeliendum tradidit. Hi militari honestoque funere, comitante toto exercitu, humaverunt; ossaque ejus in Cappadociam ad matrem, atque uxorem, liberosque ejus deportanda curârunt.

vered what they intended. The leaders in this villainy were Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander. But Antigonus gave Eumenes, *when* dead, to his relations to be buried. These buried him with a military and a handsome funeral, the whole army attending; and took care that his bones were carried into Cappadocia to his mother, wife, and children.

XIX.

PHOCION,
Atheniensis.

CAP. I.

PHOCION Atheniensis. Etsi sæpe exercitibus præfuit, summosque magistratus cepit; tamen multo ejus notior integritas est vitæ, quàm rei militaris labor: Itaque hujus memoria est nulla, illius autem magna fama, ex quo cognomine bonus est appellatus. Fuit enim perpe-

XIX.

PHOCION,
The Athenian.

CHAP. I.

PHOCION the Athenian. Though he oftentimes commanded armies and bore the greatest offices, yet the integrity of his live is much more noted than his performance in military affairs: Wherefore there is no account of this, but the fame of the other *is* great; from whence he was called by surname, the good. For he was

tuò pauper quum divitissimus esse posset, propter frequentes delatos honores, potestatesque summas, quæ ei à populo dabantur. Hic quum à rege Philippo munera magnæ pecunia repudiaret, legatique hortarentur accipere, simulque admonerent, si ipse his facilè careret, liberis tamen suis prospiceret, quibus difficile esset, in summâ paupertate, tantam paternam tueri gloriam: His ille, *Si mei similes erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit; sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.*

always poor, though he might have been very rich because of the frequent offices conferred *upon him*, and the great posts that were given him by the people. When he refused the present of a great *sum of* money from king Philip, and the ambassadors advised him to receive it, and at the same time told him, that if he could easily want it, yet he ought to provide for his children, for whom it would be difficult, in the utmost poverty, to maintain the mighty glory of their father: To these he replied, *If they be like me, this same little estate will maintain them, which has brought me to this dignity: But if they shall prove unlike me, I would not have their luxury maintained and increased at my charge.*

CAP. II. Eidem quum prope ad annum octagesimum prospera permansisset fortuna, extremis temporibus magnum in odium pervenit suorum civium. Primò, cum Demade de urbe tradendâ Antipatro consenserat: ejusque consilio Demosthenes, cum cæteris qui bene de republicâ mereri existi-

CHAP. II. After fortune had continued favourable to him, almost to his eightieth year, at the latter end of this time he fell under the great hatred of his countrymen. First, he had agreed with Demades about delivering the city to Antipater: And by his advice, Demosthenes, with the rest, who were thought to deserve well of the commonwealth, had been

mabantur, plebiscito in exilium erant expulsi. Neque in eo solùm offenderat, quòd patriæ malè consuluerat, sed etiam quod amicitiae fidem non præstiterat: namque auctus adjutusque à Demosthene, eum, quem tenebat, ascenderat gradum, quum adversus Charctem eum subornaret; ab eodem in judiciis quum capitis causam diceret, defensus aliquoties liberatus discesserat: hunc non solùm in periculis non defendit, sed etiam prodidit. Concidit autem maximè uno crimine: quia, quum apud eum summum esset imperium populi, et Nicanorem, Cassandri præfectum, insidiari Piræeo Atheniensium, à Dercyllo moneretur; idemque postularet, ut provideret, ne com meatibus civitas privaretur: hinc audiente populo, Phocion negavit esse periculum, seque ejus rei ob sidem fore pollicitus est; neque ita multò post Nicanor Piræeo est positus. Ad quem recuperandum, sine quo Athe-

forced into banishment, by a decree of the people. Nor had he only offended in this, that he had advised ill for his country, but likewise had not performed the faithful part in friendship: for, being supported and assisted by Demosthenes, he had mounted to that height which he then held, when he suborned him against Chares; being defended by the same in *some* trials, when he was tried for his life, he had come off several times safe: he not only did not defend him in his dangers, but likewise betrayed him. But he fell chiefly by one crime; because when the supreme government of the people was in him, and he was told by Dercyllus, that Nicanor, Cassander's governor, had a design upon Pyræus; and the same man desired, that he would take care the city was not deprived of its provisions: Here, *in the* hearing of the people, Phocion denied there was *any* danger, and promised that he would be security for that matter; and not long after Nicanor got Pyræus: to recover which when the people ran together in arms, without which Athens cannot be at all, he not

næ omnino esse non possunt. quum populus armatus concurrisset, ille non modo neminem ad arma vocavit, sed ne armatis quidem præesse voluit.

CAP. III. Erat eo tempore Athenis duæ factiones: quarum una populi causam agebat, altera optimatum: In hac erat Phocion et Demetrius Phalereus. Harum utraque Macedonum patrociniis nitebatur: nam populares Polyperchonti favebant; optimates cum Cassandro sentiebant. Interim, à Polyperchonte Cassander Macedoniâ pulsus est. Quo facto, populus superior factus, statim duces adversariæ factionis, capitis damnatos, patriâ pepulit: in his Phocionem et Demetrium Phalereum: deque eâ re legatos, ad Polyperchontem misit, qui ab eo peterent, ut sua decreta confirmaret. Huc eodem profectus est Phocion: quò ut venit, causam apud Philip-pum regem verbo, re ipsa quidem apud Polyperchontem jussus est

only called out nobody to arms, but would not so much as command those that were armed.

CHAP. III. There were at that time two factions at Athens, one of which stood up for the cause of the people; the other *that* of the quality: In this was Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus. Each of these relied upon the protection of the Macedonians: for the popular party favoured Polyperchon; the gentry sided with Cassander. In the mean time, Cassander was driven out of Macedonia by Polyperchon. Upon which, the people becoming superior, immediately forced out of their country the heads of the opposite party, condemned to *the loss* of life; among these Phocion and Demetrius Phalereus; and sent ambassadors about that matter to Polyperchon, to desire of him that he would confirm their decrees. To the same went Phocion; whither as soon as he was come, he was obliged to plead his cause before king Philip in pretence, but in reality before Polyperchon; for he at

dicere; namque is tum regis rebus præerat. Hic quum ab Agnonide accusatus esset quod Pyræum Nicanori prodidisset, ex consilii sententiâ in custodiam coniectus, Athenas deductus est, ut ibi de eo legibus fieret iudicium.

CAP. IV. Huc ubi perventum est, quum propter ætatem pedibus jam non valeret, vehiculoque portaretur, magni concursus sunt facti; quum alii, reminiscentes veteris famæ, ætatis misererentur; plurimi verò ita exacuerentur propter proditiōis suspiciōem Pyræei: maximèque, quod adversus populi commoda in senectute steterat. Quâ de re, ne perorandi quidem ei data est facultas, et dicendi causam. Inde iudicio, legitimis quibusdam confectis, damnatus, traditus est Undecimviris; quibus ad supplicium, more Atheniensium, publicè damnati tradi solent. Hic quum ad mortem duceretur, obvius ei fuit Emphyletus, quo familiariter fuerat usus: Is quum lacrymans dix-

that time directed the king's affairs. Being accused by Agnonides for having betrayed Pyræus to Nicanor, being put under confinement by order of the council, he was carried to Athens, that he might have his trial there according to law.

CHAP. IV. After he was come hither, being now lame of his feet by reason of his age, and carried in a chariot, great crowds of people gathered about him; whilst some, remembering his former fame, pitied his age; but very many were so exasperated because of the suspicion of his betraying Pyræus: but chiefly, because he had stood up against the interest of the people in his old age. Wherefore he had not, indeed, leave given him to speak for himself, and plead his cause. Then some formalities of law being performed, *he was* condemned, *and* delivered to the undecimviri, to whom, according to the custom of the Athenians, those condemned for offences against the state use to be delivered. When he was led to execution, Emphyletus met him, whom he had been very kind with:

isset, *O quam indigna perheteris, Phocion!* huic ille, *At non inopinata,* inquit; *hunc enim exitum plerique clari viri habuerunt Athenienses.* In hoc tantum fuit odium multitudinis, ut nemo ausus sit eum liber sepelire: Itaque à servis sepultus est.

When he said, weeping, *O! what unworthy things do you suffer, Phocion!* To him he replies, *But not unexpected; for most of the famous men of Athens have had this end.* So great was the hatred of the people against him, that no free man durst bury him: Wherefore he was buried by slaves.

XX.

TIMOLEON,
Corinthius.

CAP. I.

TIMOLEON Corinthius. Sine dubio magnus omnium judicio hic vir extitit: Namque huic uni contigit, quod nescio an ulli, ut patriam, in quâ erat natus, oppressam à tyranno, liberaret; et à Syracusis, quibus auxilio erat missus, inveteratam servitutum depelleret; totamque Siciliam multos annos bello vexatam, à barbarisque oppressam, suo adventu in pristinum statum restitueret. Sed in his rebus non

XX.

TIMOLEON,
The Corinthian.

CHAP. I.

TIMOLEON the Corinthian. Without doubt he was a great man in the judgment of every body: For that happened to him alone, which I know not whether ever it happened to any other, that he both delivered his country, in which he was born, oppressed by a tyrant, and removed an inveterate slavery from Syracuse, to the assistance of which he was sent; and restored by his coming to its former state all Sicily, that had been harassed with war, many years, and oppressed by Barbarians. But

simplici fortuna conflictatus est; et, id quod difficilius putatur, multo sapientiùs tulit secundam quàm adversam fortunam: nam quum frater ejus Timophanes, dux à Corinthiis delectus, tyrannidem per milites mercenarios occupasset, particepsque regni posset esse, tantùm abfuit à societate sceleris, ut antetulerit suorum civium libertatem fratris salutem, et patriæ legibus obtemperare sanctius duxerit, quàm imperare patriæ. Hâc mente per aruspice communemque affinem, cui soror ex iisdem parentibus nata, nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum interficiendum curavit. Ipse non modò manus non attulit, sed ne aspicere quidem fraternum sanguinem voluit. Nam dum res conficeretur, procul in præsidio fuit, ne quis satelles posset succurrere. Hoc præclarissimum ejus facinus non pari modo probatum est ab omnibus: nonnulli enim læsam ab eo pietatem putabant, et invidiâ laudem virtutis

in these things he struggled not with one *sort of* fortune *only*. And, that which is thought much the more difficult, he bore his good fortune much better than his ill *fortune*: For when his brother Timophanes, being chosen general by the Corinthians, had seized the government, by *the means of* the foreign soldiers in the Corinthian pay, and he might have been a partner with him in his kingdom; he was so far from a sharer in the villainy, that he preferred the liberty of his countrymen before his brother's life, and thought it better to obey the laws of his country, than to rule over his country. With this mind he took care to have his brother the usurper slain by a soothsayer, and their common relation, to whom their sister, born of the same parents, was married. He not only did not put a hand *to the work*, but he would not indeed see his brother's blood. For whilst the thing was doing, he was at a distance upon the watch, lest any life-guard-man should succour him. This most noble action of his was not approved of in the like manner by all: For some thought natural

obterebant. Mater verò, post id factum, neque domum ad se filium admisit, neque aspexit; quin eum fratricidam impiumque detestans compellaret. Quibus rebus adeò est commotus, ut nonnunquam vitæ finem facere voluerit, atque ex ingratorum hominum conspectu morte decedere.

CAP. II. Interim Dione Syracusis interfecto, Dionysius rursus Syracusarum potitus est. Cujus adversarii opem à Corinthiis petiverunt, ducemque, quo in bello uterentur, postulârunt. Huc Timoleon missus, incredibili felicitate Dionysium totâ Siciliâ depulit. Quum interficere posset, noluit, tutòque ut Corinthum perveniret, effecit, quòd utrorumque Dionysiorum opibus Corinthii sæpe adjuti fuerant; cuius benignitatis memoriam volebat exstare; eamque præclaram victoriam ducebat, in quâ plus esset clementiæ quàm crudeli-

affection had been violated by him, and out of envy endeavoured to lessen the praise of his virtue. But his mother, after that fact, did neither permit her son to come to her, nor would look at him; but cursing him, called him the murderer of his brother, and a wicked villain. With which things he was so much moved, that sometimes he had a mind to put an end to his life, and to withdraw by death out of the sight of ungrateful men.

CHAP. II. In the meantime Dion being slain at Syracuse, Dionysius again got Syracuse; whose enemies begged assistance of the Corinthians, and desired a general whom they might make use of in the war: Timoleon being sent hither, drove Dionysius out of all Sicily, with incredible good fortune: *And* when he might have killed him, would not, and took care that he should come safe to Corinth, because the Corinthians had been often assisted by the power of both the Dionysiuses; the memory of which kindness he had a mind should continue; and he reckoned that a noble victory, in which there was more of clemency than of

tatis: postremo, ut non solum auribus accipere-
tur, sed etiam oculis
cerneretur, quem, et ex
quanto regno ad quam
fortunam detrusisset.
Post Dionysii decessum,
cum Iceta bellavit, qui
adversatus fuerat Diony-
sio; quem non odio ty-
rannidis dissensusse, sed
cupiditate, indicio fuit,
quod ipse, expulso Diony-
sio, imperium dimit-
tere noluit. Hoc supe-
rato, Timoleon maximas
copias Carthaginiensi-
um apud Crimissum flu-
men fugavit, ac satis
habere coegit, si liceret
Africam obtinere, qui
jam complures annos
possessionem Siciliae te-
nebant. Cepit etiam
Mamercum, Italicum
ducem, hominem belli-
cosum et potentem, qui
tyrannos adjutum in Si-
ciliam venerat.

CAP. III. Quibus re-
bus confectis, quum
propter diuturnitatem
belli non solum regi-
ones, sed etiam urbes
desertas videret; conqui-
sivit quos potuit, pri-
mum Siculos, deinde
Corintho arcessivit co-
lonos, quod ab his initio

cruelty. Finally, that it
might not only be heard by
the ears, but seen by the
eyes, whom and from how
great a kingdom, to what a
fortune he had reduced. Af-
ter the departure of Dionysi-
us, he made war with Icetas,
who had opposed Dionysius;
with him, whom that he out of
hatred of his tyranny, but out
of a desire of it; did not differ,
this was a proof, that he, *after*
Dionysius *was* forced away,
would not quit his power.
He being conquered, Timo-
leon overthrew a great army
of the Carthaginians, at the
river Crimessus, and forced
them to be content, if they
could *but* keep Africa, who
had now kept possession of
Sicily for several years. He
likewise took Mamercus, an
Italian general, a warlike and
a powerful man, who had
come into Sicily to help the
tyrants.

CHAP. III. Which things
being done, when he saw not
only the country but the
cities likewise forsaken, by
reason of the long continu-
ance of the war; he sought
out first *all* the Sicilians
whom he could, and then
sent for planters from Co-
rinth, because Syracuse had

Syracusæ erant conditæ. Civibus veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuæfactas possessiones divisit; urbium mœnia disjecta, fanaque deleta refecit; civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit; ex maximo bello tantum otium toti insulæ conciliavit, ut hic conditor urbium earum, non illi, qui initio deduxerant, videretur. Arcem Syracusis, quam muniverat Dionysius, ad urbem obsidendam, a fundamentis disjecit; cætera tyrannidis propugnacula demolitus est, deditque operam, ut quàm minimè multa vestigia servitutis manerent. Quum tantis esset opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare posset, tantum autem haberet amorem omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recusante regnum obtineret; maluit se diligere, quàm metui. Itaque, quum primum potuit, imperium deposuit, et privatus Syracusis, quod reliquum vitæ fuit, vixit. Neque vero id imperitè fecit; nam quod cæteri reges imperio vix potuerunt, hic benevolentia

been built at first by them. He restored to the old inhabitants their own, and divided the possessions *that were* made void *of owners* by the war, to the new ones; he repaired the walls of cities *that had been* thrown down, and temples *that had been* destroyed; he restored to the cities their laws and liberty, and procured so much quiet to the whole island after a very great war, that he seemed to be the founder of the cities, and not those who at first had brought *the colonies thither*. He demolished to the foundations the citadel at Syracuse, which Dionysius had built to awe the city; he pulled down the other bulwarks of the tyranny, and did his endeavour that as few marks as possible of *the former* servitude should remain. Though he was in so great power, that he might have ruled over them, *tho'* against their wills, and had so much the love of all the Sicilians, that he might have had the sovereignty, nobody refusing *him*, he chose rather to be beloved than feared. Therefore, as soon as he could, he laid down his commission, and lived a private person at Syracuse, the remaining part

tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit; neque postea Syracusis res ulla gesta est publica, de quâ priûs sit decretum, quàm Timoleonis sententia cognita. Nullius unquam consilium non modo antelatum, sed ne comparatum quidem est: neque id magis benevolentia factum est, quàm prudentia.

CAP. IV. Hic quum ætate jam propectâ esset, sine ullo morbo lumina oculorum amisit: quam calamitatem ita moderatè tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audiêrit, neque eo minùs privatis publicisque rebus interfuit: veniebat autem in theatrum, quum ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetudinem vectus jumentis junctis, atque ita de vehiculo, quæ videbantur, dicebat. Neque hoc illi quisquam tribuebat superbix; nihil enim unquam neque insolens, neque gloriosum ex ore ejus exiit:

of his life. Nor did he do that weakly; for what other kings could scarcely do by their power, he carried by the good will *of the people*: He wanted no honour: nor was any public thing done after at Syracuse, concerning which a decree was made, before the opinion of Timoleon *was known*. Not only no man's counsel was ever preferred before *his*, but not indeed compared with it: Nor was that occasioned more by their good will *for him*, than his prudence.

CHAP. IV. When he was advanced in age, he lost the sight of his eyes without any distemper *to occasion it*; which misfortune he bore so meekly, that neither any one heard him complain, neither was he less engaged in private and public business; But he came into the theatre, when *any* assembly of the people was held there, riding in a chariot because of his blindness, and so spoke from the chariot what seemed proper. Nor did any one impute this to his pride; for nothing ever, either insolent or boasting, came out of his mouth: who truly, when he heard his own praises celebrated, never said any thing

qui quidem, quum suas laudes audiret prædicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quàm se in eâ re maximas diis gratias agere atque habere, quod quum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. Itaque suæ domi sacellum *avτοματίας* constituerat, idque sanctissimè colebat. Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mirabiles accesserunt casus: nam prælia maxima natali die suo fecit omnia; quo factum est, ut ejusdem natalem festum haberet universa Sicilia. Huic quidam Lamestius, homo petulans et ingratus, vadimonium quum vellet imponere, quòd cum illo se lege agere diceret; et complures concurrissent, qui procacitatem hominis manibus coërcere conarentur, Timoleon oravit omnes, ne id facerent; namque, id ut Lamestio cæterisque liceret, se maximos labores summaque adfuisse pericula: hanc enim spe-

else, than that in that case he gave very great thanks to the *immortal* gods, that since they had resolved to put Sicily again into a good condition, they had thought fit that he, above all others, should be the conductor of *that affair*. For he thought that nothing of human affairs was transacted without the providence of the gods. Wherefore he had built a temple to Fortune in his own house, and frequented it most religiously. To this excellent goodness of the man, wonderful accidents were superadded: for he fought all his greatest battles upon his birth-day; whereby it came to pass that all Sicily kept his birth-day as a festival. When one Lamestius, a saucy ungrateful fellow, would needs put bail upon him, because he said he would go to law with him, and several people gathered about him, who endeavoured to correct the sauciness of the fellow by blows, Timoleon begged of them all, that they would not do it; for that he had undergone the greatest fatigues and hazards, that that might be lawful for Lamestius and others; for this was a *visible* appearance of freedom, if it

ciem libertatis esse, si omnibus, quod quisque vellet, legibus experiri liceret. Idem, quum quidam Lamestii similis, nomine Demænetus, in concione populi, de rebus gestis ejus detrachere cœpisset, ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonta; dixit, Nunc, demum se voti esse damnatum; namque hoc à diis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem libertatem restituerent Syracusanis, in quâ cuivis, liceret, de quo vellet, impunè dicere. Hic quum diem supremum obiisset, publicè à Syracusanis in gymnasio, quod Timoleonteum appellatur, tota celebrante Siciliâ sepultus est.

was allowed all people to try at law what every one pleased. The same man, when one like Lamestius, by name Demænetus, had begun to detract from his actions in an assembly of the people, and inveighed somewhat against Timoleon; he said, That now he had his wish; for he had always begged this of the immortal gods, that they would restore such freedom to the Syracusans, in which it might be allowed any one, to speak his *mind* with impunity of whom he would. When he died, he was buried at the public expense by the Syracusans, in the gymnasium, which is called Timoleonteum, all Sicily celebrating *his funeral*.

XXI.

DE REGIBUS.

CAP. I.

HI ferè fuerunt Græciæ gentis duces, qui memoriâ digni videantur, præter reges: namque eos attingere nolui-

XXI.

OF THE KINGS.

CHAP. I.

THESE were nearly *all* the generals of Greece, that seem worthy of remembrance, besides the kings; for we would not meddle with

mus, quôd omnium res gestæ separatim sunt relatæ: neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. Lacedæmonius autem Agesilaus, nomine, non potestate, fuit rex, sicut cæteri Spartani. Ex his verò, qui dominatum imperio tenuerunt excellentissimi fuerunt, (ut nos judicamus) Persarum Cyrus, et Darius Hystaspis filius: quorum uterque privatus virtute regnum est adeptus. Prior horum apud Massagetæ in prælio cecidit: Darius, senectute diem obiit supremum. Tres sunt præterea ejusdem generis, Xerxes, et duo Artaxerxes, Macrochir et Mnemon. Xerxi maximè est illustre, quod maximis post hominum memoriam exercitibus terrâ mariq; bellum intulit Græciæ. At Macrochir præcipuam habet laudem amplissimæ pulcherrimæque corporis formæ: quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli; namque illo Persarum nemo fuit manu fortior. Mnemon autem justitiæ famâ floruit. Nam quum ma-

them, because the actions of *them* all are separately related; neither yet are these very many. But the Lacedæmonian Agesilaus was a king in name, not in power, as the rest of the Spartan kings. But of those who held the government with an absolute sway, the most excellent were (as we judge) Cyrus *king* of the Persians, and Darius the son of Hystaspes; both of whom, being private persons, got the kingdom by their good behaviour. The former of these fell in battle amongst the Massagetæ. Darius died in old age. There are three besides of the same nation, Xerxes, and the two Artaxerxes, Macrochir, and Mnemon. The most illustrious thing of Xerxes, is that he made war upon Greece by land and sea, with the greatest armies *that have been known since we have had* any history of mankind. But Macrochir has a mighty commendation *in story*, for the large make of his person, which he adorned with incredible bravery and conduct in war; for none of the Persians were more stout in action than he. But Mnemon flourished in reputation for

tris suæ scelere amisisset uxorem, tantum indulsit dolori ut eum pietas vinceret. Ex his, duo eodem nomine, morbo naturæ debitum reddiderunt: Tertius ab Artabano præfecto ferro interfectus est.

CAP. II. Ex Macedonum autem genere, duo multo ceteros antecesserunt rerum gestarum gloriâ, Philippus Amyntæ filius, et Alexander Magnus. Horum alter Babylone morbo consumptus est: Philippus Ægis à Pausaniâ, quum spectatum ludos iret, juxta theatrum occisus est. Unus Epirotes Pyrrhus, qui cum populo Romano bellavit. Is quum Argo oppidum oppugnaret in Peloponneso, lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus, Dionysius prior: nam et manu fortis et belli peritus fuit: et, id quod in tyranno non facile reperitur, minimè libidinosus, non luxuriosus, non avarus, nullius rei denique cupidus, nisi singularis perpetuique impe-

justice. For after he had lost his wife by the wicked contrivance of his mother, he so far indulged his sorrow, that his duty to his mother overcame it. Of these the two of the same name paid their debt to nature by a disease: The third was slain with the sword by Artabanus, a governor of *his*.

CHAP. II. But, of the nation of the Macedonians, two much excelled the rest in the glory of their exploits; Philip the son of Amyntas, and Alexander the great. One of these was taken off by a distemper at Babylon; Philip was slain at Egæ by Pausanias, as he was going to see *public* games, nigh the theatre. *There was* one of Epire, Pyrrhus, who made war upon the Roman people. He died of a stroke with a stone, when he was attacking the town of Argos in Peloponnesus. *There was* one likewise of Sicily, Dionysius the first; for he was both brave in action, and skilful in war; and, what is not easily found in a tyrant, he was not at all lustful, not luxurious, not covetous, finally, very desirous of nothing but of arbitrary power, and for life, and for that reason cruel; For whilst

rii, ob eamque rem crudelis: Nam dum id studuit munire, nullius percipit vitæ quem ejus insidiatorem putaret. Hic, quum virtute tyrannidem sibi peperisset, magnâ retinuit felicitate, majorque annis sexaginta natus, decessit florente regno: neque, in tam multis annis, cujusquam ex suâ stirpe funus vidit, quum ex tribus uxoribus liberos procreasset, multique ei nati essent nepotes.

CAP. III. Fuerunt præterea multi reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni, qui, post obitum ejus, imperia ceperunt: In his, Antigonus, et hujus filius Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemæus. Ex his Antigonus, quum adversus Seleucum Lysimachumque dimicaret, in prælio occisus est. Pari letho affectus est Lysimachus à Seleuco: nam societate dissolutâ, bellum inter se gesserunt. At Demetrius, quum filiam suam Seleuco in matrimonium dedisset, neque eò magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuit.

he endeavoured to secure that, he spared no man's life, whom he thought to be in a plot against it. He, after he had got the government by his able management, kept it with great good fortune; and died about sixty years of age, in a flourishing kingdom: nor in so many years, did he see the funeral of any of his issue, tho' he had children by three wives, and had many grandsons born to him.

CHAP. III. There were besides many kings of the friends of Alexander the great, who, after his death, seized the government: Amongst these, Antigonus and his son Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy. Of these, Antigonus was slain in a battle, when he fought against Seleucus and Lysimachus. Lysimachus was taken off with the like death, by Seleucus: For, upon a breach of the alliance, they carried on a war together. But Demetrius, after he had given his daughter to Seleucus in marriage, and the alliance betwixt them was never the more faithfully observed for that; the father-in-law be-

set, captus bello, in custodiâ socer generi periit morbo: neque ita multo post, Seleucus à Ptolemæo Cerauno dolo interceptus est; quem, ille, à patre expulsum Alexandriâ alienarum opum indigentem, receperat. Ipse autem Ptolemæus, quum vivus, filio regnum tradidisset, ab illo eodem vita privatus dicitur. De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum videtur, non præterire Hamilcarem et Hannibalem; quos et animi magnitudine, et calliditate, omnes in Africa natos præstitisse constat.

ing taken in war, died in custody of his son-in-law; and not long after, Seleucus was treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus; whom, *when* driven by his own father out of Alexandria, and in need of others relief, he had entertained. But Ptolemy having delivered, *whilst* living, his kingdom to his son, is said to have been deprived of his life by that same *son*. Concerning whom because we think enough has been said, it does not seem improper, not to pass by Hamilcar and Hannibal; who, it is certain, did excel all that were born in Africa, both in greatness of mind, and subtilty.

 XXII.

HAMILCAR.

CAP. I.

HAMILCAR, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barchas, Carthaginien-sis, primo Punico bello, sed temporibus extremis, admodum adolescentulus, in Siciliâ præesse cœpit exercitui.

 XXII.

HAMILCAR.

CHAP. I.

HAMILCAR, the son of Hannibal, by surname Barchas, the Carthaginian, began, when very young, to command an army in Sicily, in the first Carthaginian war, but about the latter end *of it*. And whereas, before his

Quum ante ejus adventum, et mari et terrâ malè res gererentur Carthaginiensium; ipse ubi affuit, nunquam hosti cessit, neque locum nocendi dedit; sæpèque, è contrario, hostem occasione datâ, laccessivit, semperque superior discessit. Quo facto, quum penè omnia in Siciliâ Pœni amisissent, ille Erycem sic defendit, ut bellum eo loco gestum non videretur. Interim, Carthaginienses classe apud insulas Ægates à C. Luctatio consule Romanorum superati, statuerunt belli finem facere, eamque rem arbitrio permiserunt Hamilcaris. Ille etsi flagrabat belli cupiditate, tamen paci serviendum putavit, quòd patriam exhaustam sumptibus, diutiùs calamitatem belli ferre non posse intelligebat; sed ita ut statim mente agitare, si paululo modo res essent refectæ. bellum renovare, Romanosque armis persequi, donec aut virtute vicissent, aut victi manum dedissent. Hoc consilio pacem conciliavit; in quâ

coming there, the affairs of the Carthaginians were ill managed, both by sea and by land; when he came there, he never flinched before the enemy, nor gave them *any* opportunity of hurting him; and oftentimes, on the contrary, *when* an opportunity offered, he attacked the enemy, and always came off superior. Upon which, tho' the Carthaginians had almost lost all in Sicily, he so defended Eryx, that the war did not seem to have been carried on at all in that place. In the mean time, the Carthaginians being routed by sea, at the Islands called Ægates, by Caius Luctatius, the consul of the Romans, resolved to make an end of the war, and left that matter to the discretion of Hamilcar. He, altho' he burnt with desire of *carrying on the war*, yet thought it necessary to endeavour after peace; because he was sensible, that his country, being exhausted by the charges of the war, was not able to bear the distress *of it* any longer; but so, that he immediately proposed in his mind, if their affairs should be but a little recruited, to renew the war, and to fall upon the Romans.

tanta fuit ferocia, ut quum Catullus negaret se bellum compositurum, nisi ille cum suis, qui Erycem tenuerant, armis relictis, Sicilia decederent; succumbente patriâ, ipse periturum se potiùs dixerit, quàm cum tanto flagitio domum rediret; non enim suæ esse virtutis, arma à patriâ accepta adversus hostes, adversariis tradere. Hujus pertinaciæ cessit Catullus.

CAP. II. At ille, ut Carthaginem venit, multo aliter, ac sperabat, rempublicam se habentem cognovit. Namque diuturnitate externi mali tantum exarsit intestinum bellum, ut nunquam pari in periculo fuerit Carthago, nisi quum deleta est. Primò mercenarii milites, qui adversus Romanos fuerunt, desciverunt, quorum numerus erat viginti millium: Hi totam abalienârunt Africam, ipsam Carthagi-

with arms, till either they conquered by their valour, or, being conquered, gave up the cause. With this design he made a peace, in which so great was his resolution, that when Catullus denied that he would agree upon ending the war, unless he with his men, that held Eryx, quitting their arms, left Sicily; *tho'* his country was sinking, he said, he would perish rather than return home, with so great a scandal; for it was not suitable to his conduct, to deliver up his arms, received from his country against its enemies, to his adversaries. Catullus yielded to his resolution.

CHAP. II. But he, as soon as he came to Carthage, found the commonwealth to be quite otherwise than he expected. For so great a civil war had broken out *occasioned* by the long continuance of the foreign war, that Carthage was never in the like danger, but when it was destroyed. First *of all*, the foreign soldiers in their pay, who had been *employed* against the Romans, revolted, whose number was twenty thousand: These drew along with them all Africa, and attacked Carthage itself.

nem oppugnârunt. Quibus malis adeo sunt Pœni perterriti, ut auxilia etiam à Romanis petiverint, eaque impetrârint. Sed extremò, quum propè jam ad desperationem pervenissent, Hamilcarem imperatorem fecerunt. Is non solùm hostes à muris Carthaginis removit, quum ampliùs centum millia facta essent armatorum: sed etiam eò compulit, ut locorum angustiiis clausi, plures fame, quàm ferro, interirent. Omnia oppida abalienata, in his Uticam atque Hipponem, valentissima totius Africæ, restituit patriæ. Neque eo fuit contentus, sed etiam fines imperii propagavit; totâ Africâ tantum otium reddidit, ut nullum in eâ bellum videretur multis annis fuisse.

CAP. III. Rebus his ex sententiâ peractis, fidenti animo, atque infesto Romanis, quò faciliùs causam bellandi reperiret, effecit, ut imperator cum exercitu in Hispaniam mitteretur; eoque secum duxit filium Hannibalem, anno-

With which misfortune the Carthaginians were so terrified, that they begged assistance even from the Romans, and obtained it. But at last, when they were come now almost to despair, they made Hamilcar their general. He not only drove the enemies from the walls of Carthage, though they were become above an hundred thousand armed men; but likewise reduced them to that, that being inclosed within a narrow place, more of them died by famine than by the sword. He restored all the revolted towns, and amongst these Utica and Hippo, the strongest of all Africa, to his country. Nor was he content with that, but he likewise extended the bounds of the empire; and restored such a peace throughout all Africa, that there seemed not to have been any war in it for many years.

CHAP. III. These things being performed according to his wish, with a mind full of expectations, and incensed against the Romans, that he might the more easily find out a pretence for making war, he contrived to be sent general with an army into Spain; and thither he carried

rum novem. Erat præterea cum eo adolescens illustris et formosus, Hasdrubal; quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam par erat, ab Hamilcare loquebantur; non enim maledici tanto viro deesse poterant. Quò factum est, ut à præfecto morum Hasdrubal cum eo vetaretur esse. Huic ille filiam suam in matrimonium dedit. quòd moribus eorum non poterat interdici socero gener. De hoc ideo mentionem fecimus, quod, Hamilcare occiso, ille exercitui præfuit, resque magnas gessit; et princeps largitione vetustos pervertit mores Carthaginensium; ejusdemque post mortem, Hannibal ab exercitu accepit imperium. At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare transiit, in Hispaniamque venit, magnas res secundâ gessit fortunâ: maximas bellicosissimasque gentes subegit: equis, armis, viris, pecuniâ, totam locupletavit Africam. Hic quum in Italiam bellum inferre meditaretur, nonno anno postquam in

along with him his son Hannibal, nine years *old*. There was besides with him an illustrious and beautiful youth, Hasdrubal, who, some said, was beloved more scandalously than was fitting, by Hamilcar: for backbiters could not be wanting to so great a man; from whence it was, that Hasdrubal was forbid to be with him, by the overseer of the *public* manners. He gave him his daughter in marriage, because according to their fashions, a son-in-law could not be discharged *the company of* his father-in-law. We have therefore made mention of him, because, when Hamilcar was slain, he commanded the army, and performed great things; and first *of all* corrupted the ancient manners of the Carthaginians, by his distributing money *to the troops*: and after his death, Hannibal received the command from the army. But Hamilcar, after he passed the sea and was come into Spain, performed great things with great success: He subdued very great and most warlike nations: He enriched all Africa with horses, arms, men, *and* money. Whilst he was intending to carry the

Hispaniam venerat, in prælio pugnans adversus Vettones occisus est. Hujus perpetuum odium erga Romanos maximè concitasse videtur secundum bellum Punicum: namque Hannibal, filius ejus, assiduis patris obtestationibus eò est perductus, ut interiri, quàm non Romanos experiri mallet.

war into Italy, he was slain fighting in a battle against the Vettones, in the ninth year after he came into Spain. His constant hatred of the Romans seems chiefly to have raised the second Carthaginian war: For Hannibal his son was brought to that, by the perpetual instances of his father, that he chose rather to perish than not to make trial of the Romans.

 XXIII.

HANNIBAL.

CAP. I.

HANNIBAL, Hamilcaris filius, Carthaginiensis. Si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes virtutè superârit, non est infician-

 XXIII.

HANNIBAL.

CHAP. I.

HANNIBAL, the son of Hamilcar, the Carthaginian. If it be true, which nobody doubts, (a) that the Roman people have excelled all nations in bravery and conduct, it is not to be denied, that

(a) Our author has here expressed himself after a very unusual manner, if the reading be good. When a sentence, that is a positive affirmation or negation, is the subject or object of a verb, *i. e.* answers the question, what? before or after it, the accusative case and infinitive mood, are commonly used; but sometimes, though very rarely, *quod*, with the nominative, and indicative, or subjunctive. There are some of opinion, that *quod* and *ut* have in this period changed places, and that we ought to read thus: *Si verum est, ut nemo dubitat, quod.*

dum, Hannibalem tanto præstitisse cæteros imperatores prudentiâ, quantò populus Romanus antecedit fortitudine cunctas nationes: Nam quotiescunque cum eo congressus est in Italia, semper discessit superior. Quòd nisi domi civium suorum invidiâ debilitatus esset, Romanos videtur superare potuisse. Sed multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem. Hic autem, velut hæreditate relictum, odium paternum, erga Romanos sic confirmavit, ut priùs animam, quàm id deposuerit: qui quidem quum patriâ pulsus esset, et alienarum opum indigeret, nunquam destiterit animo bellare cum Romanis.

CAP. II. Nam, ut mittam Philippum, quem absens hostem reddidit Romanis; omnium his temporibus potentissimus rex Antiochus fuit. Hunc tantâ cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut usque à rubro mari arma conatus sit inferre Italiæ: Ad quem quum legati venissent Romani, qui

Hannibal as much exceeded other commanders in prudence, as the Roman people exceed all nations in valour. For as oft as he engaged with them in Italy, he always came off superior. And unless he had been weakened by the envy of his countrymen at home, he seems to have been capable of conquering the Romans. But the detraction of many prevailed against the great abilities of one. He so firmly fixed in his *mind* his father's hatred of the Romans, left him, as it were, by inheritance, that he laid down his life before that: Who, even when he was banished his country, and stood in need of other people's relief, never ceased in his mind to make war with the Romans.

CHAP. II. For to say nothing of Philip, whom, *though* at a distance *from him*, he made an enemy to the Romans; Antiochus was the most powerful prince of all in those times. He fired him with so strong a passion for making war, that he endeavoured to bring his arms upon Italy, even as far as from the Red sea: To whom

de ejus voluntate explorarent, darentque operam consiliis clandestinis, ut Hannibalem in suspicionem regi adducerent tanquam, ab ipsis corruptum alia atque antea sentire; neque id frustra fecissent: idque Hannibal comperisset, seque ab interioribus consiliis segregari vidisset: tempore dato, adiit ad regem, atque; quum multa de fide suâ, et odio in Romanos commemorâsset, hoc adjunxit: *Pater* (inquit) *meus Hamilcar, puerulo me, utpote non amplius novem annos nato, in Hispaniam imperator proficiscens, Carthaginæ Jovi Optimo Maximo hostias immolavit; quæ divina res cum conficiebatur, quæsiuit à me, vellemne secum in castra proficisci? Id quum libenter accepissem, atque ab eo petere cepissem, ne dubitaret ducere; tum ille, Faciam, (inquit,) si fidem mihi, quam postulo, dederis. Simulque*

when the Roman ambassadors were come to make a discovery of his intention, and did their endeavour, by clandestine contrivances, to bring Hannibal in suspicion with the king, as if, being bribed by them, he had other sentiments than formerly; and had not done that in vain; and Hannibal perceived it, and saw that he was secluded from his secret counsels: an opportunity being given him, he went to the king; and after he said much *to him*, about his faithfulness *to him*, and his hatred of the Romans, he added this: *My father Hamilcar, says he, when I was a little boy, as being no more than nine years old, going general into Spain, offered sacrifices at Carthage to Jupiter the (a) best and the greatest; which divine worship whilst it was performing, he enquired of me if I would go along with him to the camp? As I willingly accepted of that, and began to beg of him, that he would not scruple to carry me: upon that he says, I will do it, if you will give me the promise*

(a) These are epithets frequently applied by Heathen authors to their god Jupiter.

ad aram adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat; eamque, cæteris remotis, tenentem, jurare jussit, Nunquam me in amicitia cum Romanis fore. Id ego jusjurandum patri datum, usque ad hanc diem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse debeat, quin reliquo tempore eadem mente sim futurus. Quare, si quid amicè de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter feceris, si me celâris: quum quidem bellum parabis, te ipsum frustraberis, si non me in eo principem posueris.

CAP. III. Hac igitur ætate cum patre in Hispaniam profectus est. Cujus post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore suffecto, equitatu omni præfuit. Hoc quoque interfecto, exercitus summam imperii ad eum detulit: id Carthaginem delatum, publicè comprobatum est. Sic Hannibal minor quinque et viginti annis natus, imperator factus, proximo triennio omnes gentes Hispaniæ bello

which I demand of you. And at the same time he brought me to the altar at which he had begun to sacrifice, and commanded me, the rest being ordered away, holding that, to swear, that I would never be at friendship with the Romans. I have kept that oath sworn to my father, till this day, that it ought to be a doubt with nobody, but that I shall be of the same mind for the time to come. Wherefore if you design any thing friendly, as to the Romans, you will not do unwisely, if you conceal it from me; but if, indeed, you will prepare for war, you will deceive yourself, if you do not place me the foremost in that affair.

CHAP. III. Wherefore he went at this age with his father into Spain. After whose death Hasdrubal being put in his room as general, he commanded all the horse. He too being slain, the army gave the chief command to him; which being carried to Carthage, was approved of by the government. Thus Hannibal, being made general when less than five and twenty years old, in the following three years subdued all the nations of Spain in war: He took by force Sa-

subegit. Saguntum fœderatam civitatem vi expugnavit; tres exercitus maximos comparavit: ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum Hasdrubale fratre in Hispaniâ reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit: saltum Pyrenæum transiit: quâcunque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis conflixit: neminem nisi victum dimisit. Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, quæ Italiam ab Galliâ sejungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum, præter Herculem Graium, transierat, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur; Alpicoſ conantes prohibere transitum concidit; loca patefecit, itinera muniit, effecitque, ut eâ elephantus oneratus ire posset, quâ antea unus homo inermis vix poterat repere. Hâc copias traduxit, in Italiamque pervenit.

guntum, a city in alliance *with the Romans*: He raised three very great armies; He sent one of these into Africa; another he left with Hasdrubal his brother in Spain; the third he led along with him into Italy. He passed the (a) Pyrenæan forest; where-soever he made his march he engaged with all the inhabitants *of the country*; he sent none away any otherwise than conquered. After he came to the Alps, which divide Italy from Gaul, which nobody had passed with an army before him, besides Hercules the Grecian, from which fact that forest is called at this day the Grecian *forest*; he cut to pieces the Alprians endeavouring to hinder his passage; he opened the places, made roads, and brought it to pass, that a loaded elephant might go, where before a single man unarmed could scarcely creep. This way he drew over his troops, and came into Italy.

(a) The Pyrenæan Saltus is a great ridge of mountains betwixt France and Spain, reaching from the bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean. Our author calls it by the name of Saltus, because it was then almost wholly covered with wood.

CAP. IV. Confixerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione consule, cumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem de Clastidio, apud Padum decernit, saucium inde ac fugatum dimittit. Tertio, idem Scipio, cum collegâ Tiberio Longo, ad Trebiam, adversus eum venit. Cum his manum conseruit, utrumque profligavit. Inde per Ligures Appenninum transiit, petens Hetruriam. Hoc itinere adeo gravi morbo afficitur oculorum, ut postea nunquam dextro æquè bene usus sit. Quâ valetudine quum etiam premeretur, lecticâque ferretur, C. Flaminius consulem apud Trasimenum cum exercitu insidiis circumventum,

CHAP. IV. He had engaged at the (a) Rhone with Publius Cornelius Scipio the consul, and had defeated him. He engages with the same near the Po, not far from Clastidium; he sends him away from thence wounded and routed. The same Scipio, with his colleague Tiberius Longus, came against him a third time, (b) at Trebia. He engaged them, and defeated them both. After that he passed the (c) Appennine mountain through the country of the (d) Ligurians, marching for (e) Etruria. In this march he was afflicted with such a violent distemper in his eyes, that he never had the use of his right eye so well after: With which malady tho' he was then troubled, and carried in a chair, he killed C. Flaminius the consul, at the (f) Tra-

(a) Our author was, in all likelihood, mistaken here; for Livy, a much better writer in all respects, gives a different account, *i. e.* that Scipio designed to have engaged him; but finding Hannibal gone from his camp, altered his intention, and put his men on board his ships, to come to Italy.

(b) A river falling into the Po, on the south side.

(c) The Appennine is a mountain that runs quite through the middle of Italy.

(d) The Ligurians were a people of Italy, bordering on France, betwixt the sea and the Po.

(e) Etruria is a country below Liguria in Italy.

(f) The Trasimene lake is in Etruria.

occidit. Neque multò post C. Centenium prætorem, cum delectâ manu saltus occupantem. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit: ibi obviam ei venerunt duo consules, C. Terentius Varro, et Paulus Æmilius: Utriusque exercitus uno prælio fugavit: L. Paulum consulem occidit, et aliquot præterea consulares; in his Cn. Servilium Geminum, qui anno superiore fuerat consul.

CAP. V. Hâc pugna pugnata Romam profectus est, nullo resistente. In propinquis urbis montibus moratus est. Quum aliquot ibi dies castra habuisset, et reverteretur Capuam, C. Fabius Maximus, Dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno ei se objecit. Hinc, clausus locorum angustiis, noctu sine ullo

simene lake, trepanned with his army by an ambush: and not long after C. Centenius the pretor, seizing upon the forests with a choice body of troops. After that he came into (a) Apulia. There the two consuls, C. Terentius Varro, and L. Paulus Æmilius, met him: He routed both their armies in one battle: He slew L. Paulus the consul, and some consular gentlemen besides; amongst these Cn. Servilius Geminus, who had been consul the year before.

CHAP. V. After this battle was fought he marched to Rome, nobody resisting him. He made a halt in the mountains, nigh the city. When he had kept his camp there for some days, and was returning to (b) Capua, Q. Fabius Maximus the Roman (c) dictator, threw himself in his way in the territory of Falernum. *Though* inclosed in a narrow place, he extri-

(a) A country in the south part of Italy.

(b) A very great city of Campania, a country towards the bottom of Italy.

(c) The dictator was an extraordinary officer, nominated in times of danger, and invested with great power, almost absolute, but confined within the space of six months. He had an officer under him, called master of the horse, because in the day of battle he commanded the horse, as the dictator did the foot.

detrimento exercitus se expedivit. Fabio callidissimo imperatori dedit verba: Namque obducta nocte, sarmenta in cornibus jumentorum deligata incendit, ejusque generis multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit. Quo repentino objectu viso, tantum terrorem iniecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus. Hanc post rem gestam, non ita multis diebus, M. Minutium Rufum magistrum equitum, pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo perductum in prælio fugavit. T. Sempronium Gracchum, iterum consulem, in Lucanis absens, in insidias inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquies consulem, apud Venusiam pari modo interfecit. Longum est enumerare prælia: Quare hoc unum satis erit dictum, ex quo intelligi possit, quantus ille fuerit. Quamdiu in Italiâ fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit: nemo adversus eum, post Cannensem pugnam, in campo castra posuit.

cated himself thence in the night-time, without any diminution of his army. He put a trick upon the most crafty commander Fabius: For *after* night *was* come on, he set fire to *some* twigs, tied upon the horns of *some* bullocks, and sent up a vast number of that sort *of* cattle scattered here and there. Which sudden appearance being seen, it struck so great a terror in the army of the Romans, that none durst go without their ramparts. Not many days after this exploit, he routed M. Minutius Rufus, master of the horse *invested* with the same power as the dictator himself, being drawn to an engagement by a wile. He *likewise* took off Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a second time consul, in *the country of* the Lucanians, being drawn into an ambush: In like manner he cut off M. Claudius Marcellus, a fifth time consul, at Venusia. It is *too* long to reckon up *all* the battles: Wherefore this one thing will be enough *to be* said, from whence it may be understood how great a man he was: So long as he was in Italy, nobody could stand before him in the field: Nobody af-

CAP. VI. Hic invictus patriam defensum revocatus, bellum gessit adversus P. Scipionis filium, quem ipse primum apud Rhodanum interum apud Padum, tertio apud Trebiam fugaverat. Cum hoc, exhaustis jam patriæ facultatibus, cupivit in præsentiam bellum componere, quò valentior postea congrediretur. In colloquium convenit; conditiones non convenerunt. Post id factum, paucis diebus, apud Zamam cum eodum confluxit: pulsus (incredibile dictu!) biduo et duabus noctibus Adrumetum pervenit, quod abest à Zamâ circiter millia passuum trecenta. In hac fugâ, Numidæ, qui simul cum eo acie excesserant, insidiati sunt ei: quos non solùm effugit, sed etiam ipsos oppressit; Adru-

ter the battle of Cannæ, pitched his camp in the plain against him.

CHAP. VI. This unconquered man being called home to defend his country, carried on the war against the son of that P. Scipio, whom he had routed first at the Rhone, again at the Po; and a third time at Trebia. The wealth of his country being exhausted, he was desirous to make an end of the war by treaty with him for that time, that he might engage *the Romans* afterwards, *when* more able. He came to a conference *with him*; the articles were not agreed upon. A few days after that transaction he engaged with the same at (a) Zama; being routed, (*it is* incredible to be said!) in two days and two nights he came to (b) Adrumetum, which is about three hundred miles distant from Zama. In this flight, *some* Numidians, who had come out of the battle with him, formed a plot against him; whom he not only escaped,

(a) Zama was a town in Africa, in Numidia Propria, south west from Carthage

(b) Adrumetum, a town of Africa, in the province of Byzaciana upon the sea, to the eastward of Carthage.

meti reliquos ex fugâ collegit; novis delectibus, paucis diebus, multos contraxit.

CAP. VII. Quum in apparando acerrime esset occupatus Carthaginienses bellum cum Romanis composuerunt. Ille, nihilo seciùs, exercitui postea præfuit, resque in Africâ gessit; itemque Mago frater ejus, usque ad Publium Sulpicium et Caium Aurelium consules. His enim magistratibus, legati Carthaginienses Romam venerunt, qui senatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quòd cum his pacem fecissent, ob eamque rem coronâ aureâ eos donarent, simulque peterent, ut obsides eorum Fregellis essent, captivique redderentur. His ex senatus consulto responsum est, Munus eorum gratum acceptumque esse; obsides quo loco rogarent, futu-

but likewise killed. At Adrumetum he picked up those *that were* left after the flight; and by new levies, in a few days raised a great many.

CHAP. VII. Whilst he was mighty busy in making preparations, the Carthaginians ended the war by treaty with the Romans. He, notwithstanding, afterwards commanded the army, and performed *several* actions in Africa; and likewise Mago his brother, until P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius *were* consuls. For under these magistrates, Carthaginian ambassadors came to Rome, to give thanks to the senate and people of Rome, because they had made peace with them, and to present them with a golden crown upon that account; and at the same time to request, that their hostages might be at (a) Fregellæ, and their prisoners be restored. To these answer was made by order of the senate, that their present was grateful and acceptable; that the hostages should be in the place they desired; *but* that

(a) Fregellæ is a town of Latium, or nigh the borders of Campania, in Italy.

ros; captivos non remis-
suros, quòd Hannibalem,
cujus opera susceptum
bellum foret, inimicissi-
mum nomini Romano,
et nunc cum imperio
apud exercitum habe-
rent; itemque fratrem
ejus Magonem. Hoc
responso Carthaginien-
ses cognito, Hannibalem
domum Magonemq; re-
vocârunt. Huc ut re-
diit, prætor factus est
postquam rex fuerat,
anno secundo et vicesi-
mo. Ut enim Romæ
consules, sic Carthagine
quotannis annui bini re-
ges creabantur. In eo
magistratu pari diligen-
tia se Hannibal præbuit,
ac fuerat in bello: Nam-
que effecit, ex novis
vectigalibus, non solùm
ut esset pecunia, quæ
Romanis ex fœdere pen-
deretur, sed etiam su-
peresset, quæ in ærario
poneretur. Deinde an-
no post præturam, M.
Claudio, Lucio Furio
Coss. Romani legati
Carthaginem venerunt;
hos Hannibal sui expos-

they would not send back the
prisoners, because they had
Hannibal, by whose means
the war had been occasioned,
a bitter enemy to the Roman
name, even now with a com-
mand at the army; and like-
wise his brother Mago. The
Carthaginians, having heard
this answer, sent for Hanni-
bal and Mago home. He, as
soon as he returned, was
made (a) Pretor, in the two
and twentieth year after he
had been made king. For
as consuls *are made* at Rome,
so at Carthage every year
two kings were made for a
year. In that office Hanni-
bal behaved himself with the
like diligence as he had done
in the war: For he took care
not only that there should be
money from the new taxes,
to be paid the Romans, ac-
cording to the treaty, but
likewise that there should be
an overplus to be laid up in
the treasury. Then a year
after his prætorship, *when* M.
Claudius and L. Furius *were*
consuls, Roman ambassadors
came to Carthage; Hannibal
supposing they were sent
upon account of demanding

(a) A sort of lord chief justice, or superintendant in their courts
of judicature,

cendi gratiâ missos ratus, priusquam his senatus daretur, navem conscendit clam, atque in Syriam ad Antiochum profugit. Hâc re palam factâ, Pœni naves duas, quæ eum comprehenderent, si possent consequi, miserunt; bona ejus publicârunt, domum à fundamentis disjecerunt; ipsum exulem judicârunt.

CAP. VIII. At Hannibal anno tertio postquam domo profugerat, L. Cornelio, Quinto Minutio Coss. cum quinque navibus Africam accessit, in finibus Cyrenæorum, si fortè Carthaginenses ad bellum, Antiochi spe fiduciâque, inducere posset; cui jam persuaserat, ut cum exercitibus in Italiam proficisceretur. Huc Magonem fratrem excivit. Id ubi Pœni resciverunt, Magonem, eâdem, quâ fratrem absentem, pœnâ affecerunt. Illi, desperatis rebus, quum solvissent naves, ac vela ventis dedissent, Hannibal ad Antiochum pervenit. De Magonis interitû duplex memoria

him, before *an audience* of the senate was given them, privately goes aboard a ship, and fled into Syria to Antiochus. This thing being made public, the Carthaginians sent two ships to seize him, if they could overtake him; they confiscated his estate, they pulled down his house to the foundations; *and* declared him an exile.

CHAP. VIII. But Hannibal, in the third year after he fled from home, *when* L. Cornelius *and* Q. Minutius *were* consuls, came with five ships to Africa in the country of the Cyrenæans, if perhaps he might induce the Carthaginians to a war, through the hope and confidence of Antiochus's *support*; whom he had now persuaded to go with his armies into Italy. Hither he sent for his brother Mago. When the Carthaginians understood that, they punished Mago with the same punishment as his absent brother. Their condition being desperate, after they had loosed their ships, and given their sails to the winds, Hannibal came to Antiochus. There is a double account given of Mago's death; for some have

prodita est; namque alii naufragio, alii à servis ipsius interfectum eum, scriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem, si tam in agendo bello parere voluisset consiliis ejus, quàm in suscipiendo instituerat, propius Tiberi quàm Thermopylis de summâ imperii dimicâset: quem etsi multa stultè conari videbat, tamen nullâ deseruit in re. Præfuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syria jussus erat in Asiam ducere, hisque adversus Rhodiorum classem in Pamphylio mari conflixit; quo quum multitudo adversariorum sui superarentur, ipse, quo cornu rem gessit, fuit superior.

CAP. IX. Antiocho fugato, verens ne dederetur, quod sine dubio accidisset, si sui fecisset potestatem, Cretam ad Gortynios venit, ut ibi, quò se conferret, consideraret. Vidit au-

left upon record, that (a) *he perished* by shipwreck; others that he was slain by his slaves. But Antiochus, if he would have obeyed his advice, as well in carrying on the war, as he had resolved in undertaking it, would have fought nearer Tiber than Thermopylæ for the empire of the world: Whom, tho' he saw enterprise many things foolishly, yet he forsook in nothing. He commanded a few ships, which he had been ordered to bring out of Syria into Asia, and with these he engaged against the fleet of the Rhodians in the Pamphylian sea; in which *fight* tho' his men were overpowered by the numbers of their enemies, he was *however* superior in that wing in which he acted.

CHAP. IX. *After* Antiochus *was* routed, fearing lest he should be given up, which without doubt would have happened, if he had given *them* an opportunity of *snapping* him, he came to (b) Crete to the Gortynians,

(a) There seems to be some word wanting in the text after *naufragio*, such as *periisse* or *interiisse*; for *naufragio interfectus* is, I take it, just as good Latin, as *killed by a shipwreck*, is good English.

(b) A famous island in the south parts of the Ægean sea.

tem vir omnium callidissimus, magno se fore periculo, nisi quid prævidisset, propter avaritiam Cretensium; magnam enim secum pecuniam portabat, de qua sciebat exisse famam. Itaque capit tale consilium; amphoras complures complet plumbo, summas operit auro et argento: has Gortyniis præsentibus deponit in templo Dianæ, simulans se suas fortunas illorum fidei credere. His in errorem ductis, statuas æneas, quas secum portabat, omnes sua pecuniâ complet, easque in propatulo domi adjicit. Gortynii templum magnâ curâ custodiunt, non tam à cæteris quàm ab Hannibale; ne quid ille inscientibus his tolleret, secumque asportaret.

CAP. X. Sic conservatis suis rebus, Pœnus illis Cretensibus omnibus, ad Prusiam in

that there he might consider whither he should betake himself. But this man, the most cunning of all *men*, saw that he should be in great danger, unless he took some care, by reason of the covetousness of the Cretans; for he carried a great deal of money with him, of which he knew a rumour was got abroad. Wherefore he takes this course; he fills several pots with lead, he covers the upper parts with gold and silver: He deposits these, whilst the Gortynians were present, in the temple of Diana, pretending he would entrust his fortune to their honesty. These being led into a mistake, he fills *all* his brazen statues, which he carried with him, with his money, and throws them into an open place at home. The Gortynians guard the temple with great care, not so much against others, as against Hannibal; lest he should take any thing away without their knowledge, and carry it off with him.

CHAP. X. Thus the Carthaginian, having saved his money, and fooled all the Cretans, came to Prusias into (a)

(a) A province of Asia Minor, lying upon the Euxine sea.

Pontum pervenit; apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam; neque aliud quicquam egit quàm regem armavit, et excitavit adversus Romanos; quem quum videret domesticis rebus minùs esse robustum, conciliabat cæteros reges, adjungebatque bellicosas nationes. Dissidebat ab eo Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amissimus; bellumque inter eos gerebatur et mari et terrâ; quò magis cupiebat eum Hannibal opprimere. Sed utrobique Eumenes plùs valebat, propter Romanorum societatem; quem si removisset, faciliora sibi cætera fore arbitrabatur. Ad hunc interficiendum talem iniit rationem: classe paucis diebus erant decertaturi: superabatur navium multitudine: dolo erat pugnandum, quum par non esset armis. Imperavit quàm plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici: harum quum

Pontus; with whom he was of the same disposition as to Italy: Nor did he do any thing else but arm the king, and animate him against the Romans; whom when he saw *to be* not at all strong in his own circumstances, he brought over other princes, and joined warlike nations to *him*. Eumenes, king of (a) Pergamus, was at difference with him, a very great friend to the Romans; and a war was carried on betwixt them both by sea and land; for which reason Hannibal was the more desirous to have him taken off. But Eumenes prevailed every where by virtue of the alliance with the Romans; whom if he could but remove, he thought other things would be more easy. He took this method to kill him: They were to engage with their fleet in a few days; he was quite outdone in number of ships: He was *therefore* to fight with subtlety, since he was not a match *for him* in arms. He ordered as many poisonous serpents as possible to be got together alive, and to be put in earthen pots: after he had made

(a) A city of Mysia Major in Asia Minor.

confecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso quo facturus erat navale prælium, classarios convocat, hisque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, à cæteris tantum satis habeant se defendere; id faciliè illos serpentum multitudine consecuturos: rex autem quâ nave veheretur, ut scirent, se facturum: quem si aut cepissent, aut interfecissent, magno his pollicetur id præmio fore.

CAP. XI. Tali cohortatione militum factâ, classis ab utrisque in prælium deducitur: quarum acie constitutâ, priusquam signum pugnæ daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret suis, quo loco Eumenes esset, tabellarium in scaphâ cum caduceo mittit. Qui, ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit, epistolam ostendens, se regem professus est quærere; statim ad Eumenem deduc-

up a good number of them, upon the day whereon he was to fight *this* battle by sea, he calls his fleet together, and orders them all to gather about the ship of king Eumenes alone, to be content to defend themselves only against the rest; that they might easily do, by the great number of serpents: he would take care they should know in what ship the king sailed; whom if they either took or killed, he promises they should have a good reward for it.

CHAP. XI. Having made this exhortation to his soldiers, the fleet is drawn out to a battle by both sides: The line of battle in each being formed, before the signal of the fight was given, Hannibal, that he might make known to his men in what place Eumenes was, sends a letter-carrier in a boat, with a (a) staff of peace: who, after he came to the enemies ships, showing the letter, told them he wanted the king: immediately he was brought

(a) The Caduceus was a staff with the figure of two serpents twisted about it, borne by heralds, or other messengers, sent to an enemy, to signify their coming in a peaceable manner.

tus est, quòd nemo dubitabat aliquid de pace esse scriptum. TABELLARIUS, ducis nave declarata suis, eòdem unde iêrat se recepit. At EUMENES, solutâ epistolâ, nihil in ea reperit, nisi quod ad irridendum eum pertineret: cuius etsi causam mirabatur, neque reperièbatur, tamen prælium statim committere non dubitavit. Horum in concursu, BITHYNI, Hannibalis præcepto, universi navem EUMENIS adoriuntur; quorum vim quum rex sustinere non posset, fugâ salutem petiit; quam consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua præsidia se recepisset, quæ in proximo litore erant collocata. Reliquæ Pergamenæ naves quum adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fictilia, de quibus suprâ mentionem fecimus, conjici cœpta sunt; quæ jacta, initio risum pugnantibus excitârunt, neque, quare id fieret, poterat intelligi. Postquam naves completas conspexerunt serpētib; nova re perterriti,

to EUMENES, because nobody doubted there was something written *in it* about peace. The letter-carrier, having *thus* discovered the king's ship to his own *side* withdrew himself to the same place from whence he had come. But EUMENES, having opened the letter, found nothing in it but what tended to banter him: The reason of which, altho' he wondered at, nor was it discovered, yet he scrupled not immediately to join battle. In their fight, the Bithynians, by order of Hannibal, all of them attacked the ship of EUMENES; the fury of whom when the king was not able to withstand, he sought his security by flight; which hē would not have obtained, unless he had betaken himself within his guards, which he had posted upon the neighbouring shore. When the rest of the Pergamene ships bore hard upon the enemy, on a sudden the earthen pots, of which we made mention above, began to be thrown amongst them, which, *when cast at them*, at first raised a laugh amongst the soldiers, nor could it be comprehended for what reason it was done. After they saw the ships filled with ser-

quum quid potissimum vitarent non viderent, puppes averterunt, seque ad sua castra nautica retulerunt. Sic Hannibal consilio arma Pergamenorum superavit: neque tum solum, sed sæpe aliàs pedestribus copiis pari prudentiâ pepulit adversarios.

CAP. XII. Quæ dum in Asiâ geruntur, accidit casu, ut legati Prusiæ Romæ apud L. Quintium Flaminium consulem cœnarent: atque ibi, de Hannibale mentione factâ, ex his unus diceret eum in Prusiæ regno esse. Id postero die Flaminius senatui detulit. Patres conscripti, qui, Hannibale vivo, nunquam se sine insidiis futuros existimabant, legatos in Bithyniam miserunt, in his Flaminium, qui à rege peterent, ne inimicissimum suum secum haberet, sibi que ut dederet. His Prusias negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, id ne à se fieri postularent, quod adversus jus hospitii esset; ipsi, si possent,

being affrighted at this new thing, as they knew not what chiefly they should avoid, they turned their ships, and betook themselves to their sea camp. Thus Hannibal, by this contrivance, prevailed against the arms of the Pergameneans: Nor *did he do* that then only, but often at other times, he defeated the enemy with his land forces with the like conduct.

CHAP. XII. Which things whilst they are doing in Asia, it happened by chance, that the ambassadors of Prusias at Rome supped with L. Q. Flaminius, the consul: And there mention being made of Hannibal, one of them said that he was in the kingdom of Prusias. Flaminius, the day after, carried that to the Senate. The fathers of the Senate, who thought they should never be without contrivances against them, *so long* as Hannibal was alive, sent ambassadors into Bithynia, amongst these Flaminius, to desire of the king, that he would not keep their bitterest enemy with him, and that he would surrender him up to them. Prusias durst not deny them; but he refused one thing, *and desired* they would not expect

comprehenderent, locum ubi esset facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat, in castello, quod ei ab rege datum erat muneri; idque sic ædificarat, ut in omnibus partibus ædificii exitus haberet, semper verens ne usu veniret, quod accidit. Huc quum legati Romanorum venissent, ac multitudinem domum ejus circumdedissent; puer ab januâ prospiciens. Hannibali dixit plures præter consuetudinem armatos apparere; qui imperavit ei, ut omnes fores ædificii circumiret, ac propere sibi renunciaret, num eodem modo undique obsideretur: Puer quum celeriter quid esset renunciasset, omnesque exitus occupatos ostendisset; sensit id non fortuito factum, sed se peti, neque sibi diutius vitam esse retinendam; quam ne alieno arbitrio dimitteret, memor pristinarum virtutum, venenum quod semper secum habere consueverat, sumpsit.

that to be done by him, which was contrary to the right of hospitality; they might catch him, if they could, they would easily find the place where he was. For Hannibal kept himself in one place, in a castle, which had been given him as a present by the king; and he had so built it, that it had ways out on all sides of the building, fearing always lest that should come to pass, which fell out. When the ambassadors of the Romans were come thither, and had beset the house with a good number *of men*, a boy, looking out at a gate, told Hannibal, that several armed men appeared contrary to custom; who ordered him to go round to all the doors of the castle, and bring him word quickly, whether he was blocked up on all sides in the same manner: when the boy quickly brought word again how it was, and informed him, that all the ways out were secured; he was sensible that was not accidentally done, but that he was aimed at, and that he ought to keep his life no longer; which that he might not part with at another's pleasure, mindful of his former noble qualities,

CAP. XIII. Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfunctus laboribus, anno acquievit septuagesimo. Quibus consulibus interiërit, non convenit. Nam Atticus, M. Claudio Marcello, et Q. Labio Labeone Coss. mortuum, in Annali suo scriptum reliquit: Polybius, Emilio Paulo, et Cn. Bæbio Tamphilo: Sulpitius autem, P. Cornelio Cethego, et M. Bæbio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir, tantisque bellis districtus, nonnihil temporis tribuit literis; namque aliquot ejus libri sunt Græco sermone confecti: in his ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volsonis in Asiâ rebus gestis. Hujus bella gesta multi memoria prodiderunt: sed ex his duo, qui cum eo in castris fuerunt, simulque vixerunt, quàm diu fortuna passa est, Philænius, et Sosilus Lacedæmonius. Atque hoc Sosilo Hannibal literarum Græcarum usus est doctore. Sed nunc tempus

he took poison, which he had been accustomed to carry always about him.

CHAP. XIII. Thus this most gallant man, after he had run through many and various toils, rested in his seventieth year. Under what consuls he died, is not agreed. For Atticus has left it written in his annal, that he died *when* M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Labius Labeo *were* consuls. *But* Polybius says under L. Emilius Paulus, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus. But Sulpitius says *he died in the time of* P. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Bæbius Tamphilus. And this great man, and so prodigiously taken up with the *prosecution of* such great wars, employed some part of his time in letters; for there are some books of his written in the Greek tongue: Amongst these *one* to the Rhodians concerning the actions of Cn. Manlius Volso in Asia. Many have transmitted to memory his wars *which were* carried on *by him*. But two of them *were such*, who were with him in the camp, and lived with him as long as his circumstances allowed it, Philænius and Sosilus the Lacedæmonian. And Hannibal

est hujus libri facere finem, et Romanorum explicare imperatores; quò facilius, collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri præferendi sint, possit judicari.

made use of this Sosilus, as his instructor in the Greek tongue. But now it is time to make an end of this book, and to relate *the lives* of the Roman commanders, that by comparing the actions of both, it may be the more easily discerned which men are to have the preference.

XXIV.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

Ex libro secundo Cornelii Nepotis.

CAP. I.

CATO ortus municipio Tusculo, adolescens, priusquam honoribus operam daret, versatus est in Sabinis, quòd ibi hæredium à patre relictum habebat Hortatu L. Valerii Flacci, quem in consulatu censuræque habuit collegam, ut M. Perpenna Censorinus narrare solitus est, Romanam demigravit, in foro esse cœpit. Primum

XXIV.

M. PORCIUS CATO.

Out of the second book of Cornelius Nepos.

CHAP. I.

CATO was born in the borough town of (a) Tusculum, and, when a very young man, before he made suit for any public posts in the government, lived in the country of the Sabines, because he had an estate there, left him by his father. By the advice of L. Valerius Flaccus, whom he had for his colleague in the consulship and censorship, as M. Perpenna Censorinus used to say, he removed

(a) A town of Latium, in Italy, nearly twenty miles from Rome.

stipendium meruit annorum decem septemque, Q. Fabio Maximo, M. Claudio Marcello Coss. Tribunus militum in Siciliâ fuit. Inde ut rediit, castra secutus est C. Claudii Neronis, magnique opera ejus æstimata est in prælio apud Senam, quo cecidit Hasdrubal frater Hannibalis. Quæstor obtigit P. Cornelio Africano consuli, cum quo non pro sortis necessitudine vixit; namque ab eo perpetua dissensit vita. Ædilis plebis factus est cum C. Helvio. Prætor, provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam,

to Rome, *and* began to appear in the (a) forum. He first entered the service of his country in the wars, *when he was* seventeen years of age, under the consuls Q. Fabius Maximus *and* M. Claudius Marcellus. He was a (b) tribune of soldiers in Sicily. As soon as he came from thence, he followed the camp of C. Claudius Nero, and his service was highly valued in the battle of (c) Sena, in which Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, fell. He happened to be (d) questor to P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus *when* consul, with whom he lived not according to the (e) obligation his

(a) The forum was a large square in the middle of the cities of Italy and Greece, where the courts and markets were kept, and where the people usually met, for the choice of magistrates, and the enacting of laws.

(b) A tribune was a military officer, pretty much like our colonels. There were at first six in a legion, which had the command of it in their turns; but afterwards they were reduced to the command of one single cohort or regiment, of which there were ten in a legion; and therefore it is supposed there were the like number of tribunes.

(c) A city of Italy, in that part of it formerly called Umbria, high the Adriatic sea.

(d) The questor in Rome was a sort of lord treasurer. The proconsuls and proprætors too, that were sent governors into the provinces of the Roman empire, had their questors, who had the charge of the public money, the plunder that was not given to the soldiers, &c.

(e) The questors, as well as proconsuls and proprætors, had their provinces assigned them by lot, and usually lived in a strict friendship with those under whom their lot fell.

ex quâ Quæstor superiore tempore ex Africâ decedens, Q. Ennium poetam deduxerat; quod non minoris æstimamus, quàm quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum.

CAP. II. Consulatum gessit cum L. Valerio Flacco; sorte provinciam nactus Hispaniam citeriorem; exque eâ triumphum deportavit. Ibi quum diutius moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus, consul iterum, cujus in priori consulatu Quæstor fuerat, voluit eum de Provinciâ depellere, et ipse ei succedere; neque hoc per senatum efficere potuit, quum quidem Scipio in civitate principatum obtineret: quod tum non potentiâ, sed jure, respublica admin-

chance *had brought him under*; for he differed with him all his life long. He was made (a) ædile of the commons with C. Helvius. *When* (b) prætor, he got the province of Sardinia; out of which, when coming quæstor some time before out of Africa; he had brought away Q. Ennius the poet; which we value no less, than any the noblest triumph over Sardinia.

CHAP. II He bore the office of consul with L. Valerius Flaccus; he got by lot Hither Spain *for* his province, and brought *home* from thence a triumph. As he staid there long, P. Scipio Africanus, a second time consul, whose questor he had been in the former consulate, designed to oust him of his province, and to succeed him himself; but could not effect it by the senate, though Scipio had the greatest sway in the city; because the government was then managed not by interest, but justice: For which reason, being angry,

(a) An officer whose business it was to take care of the markets and public buildings.

(b) The prætor at Rome was superintendant, or director of their courts of justice.

istrabatur: quâ ex re iratus, senatu peracto, privatus in urbe mansit. At Cato, censor cum eodem Flacco factus, severè præfuit ei potestati; nam et in complures nobiles animadvertit, et multas res novas in edictum addidit, quâ re luxuria reprimeretur, quæ jam tum incipiebat pullulare. Circiter annos octoginta, usque ad extremam ætatem ab adolescentiâ, reipublicæ causâ suscipere inimicitias non destitit. A multis tentatus, non modò nullum detrimentum existimationis fecit, sed quoad vixit, virtutum laude crevit. In omnibus rebus singulari fuit prudentiâ et industriâ; nam et agricola solers, et reipublicæ peritus, et juris consultus, et magnus imperator, et probabilis orator, et cupidissimus literarum fuit: quarum studium etsi senior arripuerat, tamen tantum progressum fecit, ut non facilè reperire possis, neque de Græcis, neque de Italicis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab adoles-

when his consulship was expired, he continued a private person in the city. But Cato, being made censor with the same Flaccus, behaved very strictly in that post; for he punished several noblemen, and put a great many new things into *his* edict, whereby luxury might be restrained, which even then began to bud. He never ceased for about fourscore years, from his youth to the end of his life, to engage in quarrels upon the commonwealth's account. *Though he was* attacked by many, he not only suffered no loss of reputation, but grew in fame for his excellent qualities, as long as he lived. In all things he was a man of excellent prudence and industry; for he was both a dexterous husbandman, well skilled in the business of government, and a lawyer, and a great commander, and a plausible orator, and very fond of learning; the study of which though he took up *when* old, yet he made so great a progress in it, that you cannot easily find *any thing*, either of the Grecian or the Italian affairs, which was unknown to him. He made speeches from his youth: *When* old

centiâ confecit orationes; senex historias scribere instituit, quarum sunt libri septem: Primus continet res gestas regum populi Romani: Secundus et tertius, unde quæque civitas orta sit Italica; ob quam rem omnes *Origines* videtur appellasse: In quarto autem, bellum Punicum primum: in quinto, secundum: atque hæc omnia capitulatim sunt dicta. Reliquaque bella pari modo persecutus est usque ad Præturam Ser. Galbæ, qui diripuit Lusitanos. Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit. In iisdem exposuit quæ in Italia Hispanisque viderentur admiranda; in quibus multa industria et diligentia comparet, multa doctrina. Hujus de vita et moribus plura in eo libro prosecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus, rogatu Titi Pomponii Attici: quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen relegamus.

he began to write history, of which there are seven books: The first contains the actions of the kings of the Roman people: The second and third contain an account, from whom every city of Italy had its rise; for which reason he seems to have called them all *Origines*: In the fourth is the first Carthaginian war: In the fifth the second: And all these things are summarily related. And he has gone through the other wars, in the like manner, unto the prætorship of Ser. Galba, who rifled the Lusitanians. And he has not named the generals in these wars, but has set down the actions without names. In the same books he has given an account of what seemed remarkable in Italy and Spain; in which there appears much industry and diligence, and much learning. We have said more of his life and manners, in that book which we made separately about him, at the request of T. Pomponius Atticus; wherefore we send those that are desirous of knowing Cato to that volume.

XXV.

XXV.

T. POMPONII ATTICI VITA,
Ex Cornelio Nepote.

THE LIFE OF T. POM-
PONIUS ATTICUS,
Out of Cornelius Nepos.

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.

POMPONIUS Atticus, ab origine ultima stirpis Romanæ generatus, perpetuo à majoribus acceptam equestrem obtinuit dignitatem. Patre usus est diligente, indulgente et ut tum erant tempora, diti, imprimisque studioso literarum: Hic, prout ipse amabat literas, omnibus doctrinis, quibus puerilis ætas impertiri debet, filium erudit. Erat autem in puero præter docilitatem ingenii, summa suavitas oris ac vocis, ut non solum celeriter arriperet quæ tradebantur, sed etiam excellenter pronunciaret; quâ ex re in pueritiâ no-

POMPONIUS Atticus, descended of an ancient Roman family, kept the (a) equestrian dignity, received by uninterrupted succession from his ancestors. He had a diligent and indulgent father, and, as the times were then, rich, and above all things, a lover of learning: As he loved learning *himself*, he instructed his son in all that sort of literature that youth ought to be acquainted with. There was in *him* when a boy, besides a docility of wit, a mighty sweetness of mouth and voice, that he not only quickly took in what was taught him, but also pronounced excellently; upon which account he was reckoned famous amongst his

(a) The Roman people were divided into three orders, the plebeian, equestrian, and senatorian: Those, whose estates were 400,000 sesterces (upwards of 300 pounds) were reckoned of the equestrian order, till they were chosen into the senate, and then they were of the senatorian. Atticus's ancestors had never any of them been in the senate, and he, treading in their steps, declined all preferment.

bilis inter æquales ferebatur, clariùsque exsplendescibat, quàm generosi condiscipuli animo æquò ferre possent: itaque incitabat omnes suo studio; quo in numero fuerunt L. Torquatus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicero, quos consuetudine suâ sic sibi devinxit, ut nemo iis perpetuò fuerit carior.

CAP. II. Pater maturrè decessit. Ipse adolescentulus propter affinitatem P. Sulpicii, qui Tribunus pl. interfectus est, non expers fuit illius periculi: namque Anicia, Pomponii consobrina, nupserat M. Servio fratri P. Sulpicii. Itaque interfecto Sulpicio, posteaquam vidit Cinnano tumultu civitatem esse perturbatam, neque sibi dari facultatem pro dignitate vivendi, quin alterutram partem offenderet, dissociatis animis civium; cùm alii Syllanis, alii, Cinnanis faverent partibus; idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit: neque eo seciùs adolescentem Marium hostem judicatum,

fellows in his childhood, and shone out more brightly than his noble school-fellows were able to bear with a patient mind: wherefore he pushed them all forward by his great application; in which number were L. Torquatus, C. Marius the son, M. Cicero, whom he so engaged to him by his acquaintance with them, that nobody was all along more dear to them.

CHAP. II. His father died early. He being a very young man, by reason of his affinity with P. Sulpicius, who was slain *when* tribune of the commons, was not clear of that danger; for Anicia, the cousin of Pomponius, had married M. Servius, the brother of Sulpicius: Wherefore P. Sulpicius being slain, after he found the city mightily disturbed with the bustle raised by Cinna, and that there was no possibility for him to live suitably to his dignity, but he must offend one party or the other, the minds of his countrymen being divided; whilst some favoured Sylla's party, and others Cinna's; thinking it a proper time to follow his studies, he withdrew himself to Athens; but nevertheless he assisted young Marius, de-

juvit opibus suis; cujus fugam pecuniâ sublevavit. Ac, ne illa pene-grinatio detrimentum aliquod afferret rei familiari, eodem magnam partem fortunarum trajecit suarum. Hic ita vixit, ut universis Atheniensibus meritò esset carissimus: Nam, præter gratiam, quæ jam adolescentulo magna erat, sæpe suis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit: Cum enim versuram facere publicè necesse esset, neque ejus conditionem æquam haberent, semper se interposuit, atque ita, uti neque usuram unquam ab iis acceperit, neque longius, quàm dictum esset, eos debere passus sit; quòd utrumque erat iis salutare: nam neque indulgendo inveterascere eorum æs alienum patiebatur, neque multiplicandis usuris crescere. Auxit hoc officium aliâ quoquè liberalitate; nam

clared an enemy, with his estate; and relieved *him* in his banishment with money. And, lest that his living abroad should prove a detriment to his estate, he carried over to the same place a great part of his substance. Here he lived so, that he was deservedly very dear to all the Athenians: For, besides his (*a*) interest, which was already considerable in him, *tho'* a very young man, he often relieved their public want out of his own estate: For when the government was obliged to (*b*) borrow money to pay off a public debt, and could have no fair offer for it, he always interposed, and so, that he neither ever received any use of them, nor suffered them to owe him *the money* longer than had been agreed; both which things were very good for them: for he neither suffered their debts to grow old *upon them*, by forbearing *them*, nor to increase by the multiplying of use. He added to this kindness by

(*a*) By *Gratia* is here meant the interest he had amongst several of the leading men at Rome, by which he was in a condition of serving the Athenians several ways.

(*b*) *Versura* signifies borrowing from one to pay another; which has no word to answer it in our language.

universos frumento donavit, ita ut singulis VI. modii tritici darentur, qui modus mensuræ *Medimnus* Athenis appellatur.

CAP. III. Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis infimis, par principibus videretur; quo factum est, ut huic omnes honores, quos possent, publicè haberent, civemque facere studebant: quo beneficio ille uti noluit: quod nonnulli ita interpretantur, amitti civitatem Romanam aliâ adscita. Quamdiu affuit, ne qua sibi statua poneretur, restitit, absens, prohibere, non potuit: Itaque aliquot ipsi et Piliæ, locis sanctissimis posuerunt; hunc enim in omni procuratione Reip. actorem, auctoremque habebant. Igitur primum illud munus fortunæ, quod in eâ potissimum

another *piece* of generosity too; for he presented them (a) all with corn, so that six (b) modii of wheat were given to every man, which kind of measure is called *Medimnus* at Athens.

CHAP. III. He likewise behaved so, that he seemed upon a level with the lowest, and yet equal to the greatest; from whence it was, that they publicly conferred upon him all the honours which they could, and endeavoured to make him a freeman of their city; which kindness he would not accept; because some construe *the matter* so, that the freedom of Rome is lost by taking another. As long as he was there, he made *such* opposition, that no statute was erected for him; *when* absent, he could not hinder it: Wherefore they set up some both for him and Pilia, in the most sacred places; for in the whole management of their government, they had him for their adviser and agent. Where-

(a) Our author has here expressed himself very carelessly; to be sure, he did not present them all, *universos*, but only the poorer sort; it would have been so far from a kindness, that it would have been a most stupid affront, to have offered a largess of a few pecks of corn, to people of quality, or any tolerable fashion.

(b) A *medius* is reckoned by some to be about two pecks.

urbe natus est, in quâ domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii, ut eandem et patriam haberet, et domum. Hoc specimen prudentiæ, quod cum in eam se civitatem contulisset, quæ antiquitate, humanitate, doctrinâ præstaret omnes; ei unus ante alios fuerit carissimus.

CAP. IV. Huc ex Asiâ Sylla decedens cum venisset; quamdiu ibi fuit, secum habuit Pomponium, captus adolescentis et humanitate et doctrinâ; sic enim Græcè loquebatur, ut Athenis natus videretur: tanta autem erat suavitas sermonis Latini, ut appareret in eo nativum quendam leporem esse, non adscitum. Idem poemata pronunciabat et Græcè et Latine sic, ut suprâ nihil posset. Quibus rebus factum est, ut Sylla nunquam eum à se dimitteret, cuperetque secum deducere; cui cum persuadere tentaret, *Noli oro te* (inquit Pomponius) *adversum eos me velle du-*

fore that *was* an especial favour of fortune, that he was born in that city, above others, in which was the seat of the empire of the world, that he had the same both for his native place, and his home. This was a specimen of his prudence, that when he withdrew himself into that city, which excelled all *others* in antiquity, politeness, and learning, he was singly very dear to it above all others.

CHAP. IV. When Sylla was come hither in his departure from Asia, so long as he was there, he kept Pomponius with him, charmed with the politeness and learning of the youth; for he spoke Greek so, that he seemed to have been born at Athens: But such was the sweetness of his Latin dialect, that it appeared there was a certain natural pleasantness in him, not acquired. The same man pronounced poems both in Greek and Latin so, that nothing could *be* beyond it. For which things it was, that Sylla would never part with him from him, and was desirous to take him along with him *to Rome*; whom when he endeavoured to persuade *to that, do not, I beseech you* (says Pomponius) *desire to*

cere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italiam reliqui. At Sylla, adolescentis officio colaudato, omnia munera ei, quæ Athenis acceperat, proficiscens jussit deferri. Hic complures annos moratus, cum et rei familiari tantum operæ daret, quantum non indiligens deberet paternam familiam, et omnia reliqua tempora aut literis, aut Atheniensium Reip. tribueret; nihilominus amicis urbana officia præ-

lead me against those, with whom that I might not bear arms against you, I left Italy. But Sylla, commending the behaviour of the young man, upon his departure, ordered all the presents, which he had received at Athens, to be carried to him. Having staid here several years, whilst he employed as much care upon his estate as a diligent master of a family ought to do and bestowed all the rest of his time either upon books, or the government of the Athenians; (a)

(a) I am somewhat surprised to find this passage thus translated by major Pack, "He found many opportunities to perform very important services to his friends on the suffering side; he frequently assisted at their private rendezvous." Our author is not here talking of his friends on the suffering side, *i. e.* on the side of Marius; but of his friends in general, or rather those on the conquering side; for such alone, during the tyranny of Sylla, were permitted to sue for the great offices of the government. and such he here means, as is plain from what follows, *Ad comitia eorum ventitavit*; which is not to be rendered, "Assisted at their private rendezvous." Words hardly intelligible; but in the same manner, or to the same purpose, as I have done; *comitia* never signifying any thing else than the meetings of the people for the choice of magistrates, enacting laws, or public trials. The relative pronoun, *eorum*, seems to restrain it to the first kind, meetings of the people for the choice of magistrates or elections. The major has mistaken too the sense of *Urbana officia*, which signifies here such services or good offices, as were confined to the city of Rome, and could not elsewhere be performed at all, or so effectually, such as waiting upon the candidates to the forum, or in their rounds about the town, making of interest among the citizens for them: These and the like are the *Urbana officia* here spoken of. I make not this remark to depreciate Mr. Pack's performance, which is as good, at least, if not better

stitit: nam et ad comitia eorum ventitavit; et si qua res major acta est, non defuit; sicut Cicero in omnibus ejus periculis singularem fidem præbuit; cui ex patriâ fugienti LL.S. CC. et quinquaginta millia donavit. Tranquillatis autem rebus Romanis, remigravit Romam, ut opinor, L. Cottâ, et L. Torquato COSS. quem diem sic universa civitas Atheniensium prosecuta est, ut lacrymis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.

notwithstanding he performed *all manner of* good offices in the city of Rome to his friends: for he both came frequently to their elections, and, if any important matter *of theirs* was transacted, was not wanting; as he shewed a singular faithfulness to Cicero in all his dangers; to whom *when* (a) banished his country, he presented two hundred and fifty thousand (b) sesterces. But *after* the Roman affairs *were pretty well* settled, he returned to Rome, as I think; when L. Cotta, and L. Torquatus *were* consuls; which day the whole city of the Athenians did so observe, that they discovered by their tears their sorrow for their future loss.

than any thing of the kind I ever read; but to do justice to Cornelius Nepos, and myself too, who might otherwise be condemned, upon the authority of Mr. Pack, as having here grossly mistaken the sense of my author.

(a) I chose to render *fugienti ex patriâ*, being banished out of his country: Major Pack's translation, *being obliged to fly his country*, is, to my thinking, too general to convey the author's meaning to such as are unacquainted with Cicero's story; he uses the word *fugio* here, as the Greeks do their verb *φευγω*, which is commonly put for being banished, sometimes with the accusative *πατριδα*, but oftener, I think, without

(b) A sesterce was the fourth part of a denarius, which was about 8d. our money; the whole sum therefore here mentioned is near upon 2000 pounds.

CAP. V. Habebat avunculum, Q. Cæcilius, equitem Romanum, familiarem L. Luculli, divitum; difficillimâ naturâ; cujus sic asperitatem veritus est, ut quem nemo ferre posset, hujus sine offensione ad summam senectutem retinuerit benevolentiam; quo facto, tulit pietatis fructum. Cæcilius enim moriens testamento adoptavit eum, hæredemque fecit ex dodrante; ex quâ hæreditate accepit circiter centies LSS. Erat nupta soror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni, easque nuptias M. Cicero

CHAP. V. He had an uncle, Q. Cecilius, a Roman knight, a friend of L. Lucullus, rich, *but* of a very rugged temper; whose peevishness he bore so meekly, that he kept *in* his favour, without any offence *given*, to an extreme age, whom nobody else was able to bear with; for which he reaped the fruit of his (a) dutiful behaviour towards him. For Cecilius, *when* dying, adopted him by his will, and made him heir to (b) three-fourths of his estate; by which inheritance he got about a hundred times a hundred thousand (c) sesterces. The sister of Atticus was married to Q. Tul-

(a) *Pietas* I render dutiful behaviour. Piety, which is major Pack's translation of the word, has nothing at all to do here. See note the first, on the first chapter of Dion's life.

(b) *Dodrans* is nine *unciæ* or twelfths of the Roman *as*, which was originally a large brass coin, almost an English pound; but by several reductions brought at last to one four and twentieth part of that weight. An estate was likewise termed *as*, and divided into twelve parts called *unciæ*, and accordingly *hæres ex asse*, was heir to the whole estate, *hæres ex dodrante* was heir to nine *unciæ* or twelfths, *i. e.* three fourths of the estate.

(c) *Sestertius*, as I have already remarked, is near upon two pence of our money; *Sestertium* signifies a thousand *Sestertii*: According to the Roman way of reckoning, after a numeral adverb is always to be understood a hundred thousand; so that *centies LSS.* is a hundred times a hundred thousand sesterces, or ten millions, *i. e.* 70,000 pounds of our money nearly. It seems strange the Romans should use no higher a denomination, than that of a two-penny piece, in their reckoning of money; it must have rendered their accounts high, and troublesome enough.

conciliârat; cum quo à condiscipulatu vivebat conjunctissimè, multo etiam familiariùs, quàm cum Quinto: ut judicari possit, plùs in amicitia valere similitudinem morum, quàm affinitatem. Utebatur autem intimè Q. Hortensio, qui iis temporibus principatum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non posset, uter eum plùs diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius; et id, quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat, ut inter quos tantæ laudis esset æmulatio, nulla intercederet obtreectatio; essetque talium virorum copula.

CAP. VI. In Repub. ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium et esset, et existimaretur; neque tamen se ci-

lius Cicero, and M. Cicero had made up the match; with whom he lived in a very close friendship from *the time of* their being school-fellows, and much more familiarly than with Quintus; that it may be *thereby* judged, that a similitude of manners does more in friendship, than affinity. He was likewise intimate with Q. Hortensius, who in those times had the highest reputation for eloquence, that it could not be understood whether *of them* loved him more, Cicero or Hortensius; and he effected that which was very difficult, that there was no endeavour to lessen one another passed *betwixt those* betwixt whom there was a rivalry for so considerable a *prize of* fame; and he was the instrument of union betwixt those great men.

CHAP. VI. He behaved himself so in the commonwealth, that he both always was and was reckoned of the (a) party of the quality; and

(a) Major Pack renders *Optimarum partium*, by right side; but, in my opinion, those words can signify nothing but the best or a very good side or party; which would imply, that there were more parties than two in Rome, which is false. *Optimarum* is undoubtedly a wrong reading for *Optimum*. See note the first, on the sixth chapter of Dion's life.

vilibus fluctibus committeret, quòd non magis eos in suâ potestate existimabat esse, qui se iis dedissent, quàm qui maritimis jactarentur. Honores non petiit, cùm ei paterent propter vel gratiam, vel dignitatem; quòd neque peti more majorum, neque capi possent, conservatis legibus, in tam effusis ambitûs largitionibus; neque geri è republicâ sine periculo, corruptis civitatis moribus. Ad hanc publicam nunquam accessit. Nullius rei neque præs, neque manceps factus est. Neminem neque suo nomine, neque subscribens accusavit. In jus de sua re nunquam iit; judicium nullum habuit. Multorum Consulium Præto-

yet he would not engage himself in civil broils, because he did not think them to be more in their own power, who trusted themselves upon those *waves*, than those who were tossed about by the *waves* of the sea. He did not sue for any preferment in the state, though it lay ready for him, by reason either of his interest or quality; because it could neither be sued for after the manner of our ancestors, nor be attained, *if* the laws *were* observed, in so prodigious an extravagance of corruption; nor be managed to the service of the commonwealth without danger, the morals of the city being *so much* depraved. He never came to a public (*a*) sale. He never became (*b*) surety for, nor a farmer of, any part of the public revenue. He never

(*a*) He means chiefly the sale of the estates of such as were taken off in the proscription of that barbarous butcher Sylla. Atticus in that acted the part of a generous man, and a lover of his country, that scorned to encrease his estate out of the spoils taken from his innocent fellow-citizens. In those sales it was usual for the præco, or the person that superintended and managed the sale, to fix down a spear by him, which is the reason of our author's wording himself as he does.

(*b*) *Manceps* properly signifies a farmer of the public revenue, as the customs, taxes, &c. and *Præs* a person bound to the government for the farmer's due performance of his bargain.

rumque præfecturas delatas sit accepit, ut neminem in provinciam sic secutus; honore fuerit contentus, rei familiaris despexerit fructum; qui ne cum Q. quidem Cicerone voluerit ire in Asiam, cum apud eum legati locum obtinere posset; non enim decere se arbitrabatur, cum Præturam gerere noluisset, asseclam esse Prætoris: quâ in re non solum dignitati serviebat, sed etiam tranquill-

(a) accused any one in his own name, nor *in the quality of* a subscriber or assistant. He never went to law about any thing of his own; had no trial. He so accepted of the commissions of several consuls and prætors, when offered him, that he followed none of them into his province; was content with the honour, he despised the improvement of his estate; who would not indeed go along with Q. Cicero into Asia, though he might have had the post of (b) lieutenant-

(a) When any person of figure was impeached of any crime, there were usually several managers of the trial against him; but yet the burden lay chiefly upon one person, who preferred the bill of indictment, or impeachment, to the prætor or lord chief justice, with his name to it, and was called *accusator*. Others, that had a mind to countenance the matter, and give their assistance for the management of the cause, subscribed their names, but either spoke but very little, or not at all, in the court; the business of speaking there belonged chiefly, if not solely, to the *accusator*. What major Pack means by translating this passage, "He never openly or privately accused any man," I cannot tell. Was I as much at liberty in my translation as the major was, I should have turned it thus; "He never was concerned in the prosecution of an indictment against any person, either as principal manager of the trial, or assistant."

(b) Mr. Pack translates *Legatus* by legate or general officer, as if those were words of the same import in our language. How far the title of a general officer may extend, the major knows much better than I; and because I am somewhat uncertain about it, I choose to make use of the word lieutenant-general; because that, I take it, the word *Legatus* signifies here, and that only; a *Legatus* in the Roman armies was next to the general in power, and used to command, by the general's appointment, some part of the

tati, cùm suspiciones quoque vitaret criminum: quo fiebat, ut ejus observantia omnibus esset carior, cùm eam officio, non timori, neque spei tribui viderent.

CAP. VII. Incidit Cæsarianum civile bellum, cùm haberet annos circiter sexaginta. Usus est ætatis vacatione, neque se quòquam movit ex urbe. Quæ amicis suis opus fuerant ad Pompeium proficiscentibus, omnia ex suâ re familiari dedit. Ipsum Pompeium conjunctum non offendit, nullum enim ab eo habebat ornamentum, ut cæteri, qui per eum aut honores, aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim invitisimi castra sunt secuti, partim summa cum ejus

general under him; for he did not think it became him, since he would not bear the office of prætor, to be an attendant upon a prætor. In which thing he not only consulted his dignity, but likewise his quiet, since he avoided even the suspicions of crimes: From whence it was, that his respect was the more dear to all people, when they saw that it proceeded from kindness, not fear or hope.

CHAP. VII. Cæsar's civil war fell out, when he was about sixty years old. He made use of the privilege of his age, nor did he stir any whither out of the town. He gave all things that were necessary for his friends, upon their going to Pompey, out of his own estate. He did not offend Pompey, tho' a friend; for he had no obligation from him, as others, who by him had got either great posts or riches; part of which followed his camp very unwillingly, part staid at home, to the great offence of him. But Atticus's keeping quiet was so agreeable to

army in the day of battle, and likewise the whole in the general's absence. There were several of them in an army,

offensione domi remanserunt. Attici autem quies tantopere Cæsari fuit grata, ut victor, cùm privatis pecunias per epistolas imperaret, huic non solùm molestus non fuerit, sed etiam sororis et Q. Ciceronis filium ex Pompeii castris concesserit. Sic veteri instituto vitæ, effugit nova pericula.

CAP. VIII. Secutum est illud. Occiso Cæsare, cùm Respub. penes Brutos videretur esse et Cassium, ac tota civitas se ad eum convertisse videretur; sic M. Bruto usus est, ut nullo ille adolescens æquali familiaris, quàm hoc sene; neque solùm eum principem consilii haberet, sed etiam in convictu. Excogitatum est à quibusdam, ut privatum ærarium Cæsaris interfectorebus ab equitibus Romanis constitueretur: id fa-

Cæsar, that *after he was* conqueror, when he commanded *several* private gentlemen by letters to furnish him with money, he was not only not troublesome to him, but likewise gave him, out of Pompey's camp the son of his sister and Quintus Cicero. Thus by his old way of life, he avoided new dangers.

CHAP. VIII. Then followed this. *After Cæsar was* slain, when the government seemed to be in the hands of the Brutus's and Cassius, and the whole city was seen to turn themselves towards (*a*) them; he was so kind with M. Brutus, that that young gentleman had more intimacy with none of his own age, than with that old gentleman; and not only used him as his principal counsellor, but *had him pretty constantly* at his table. It was projected by some, that *a sort of* private fund should be settled

(*a*) The reading here is *eum*; but I think it should be *eos*, and have translated it accordingly; for no good reason, I think, can be given why the eyes of the whole city should be turned upon Atticus, a private gentleman; but a very good one, why they should be turned upon the Brutus's and Cassius, because they seemed to be now men of the greatest power and interest in the whole commonwealth.

cilè effici posse arbitrati sunt, si et principes illius ordinis pecunias contulissent. Itaque appellatus est à C. Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus, ut ejus rei princeps esse vellet: at ille, qui officia amicis præstanda sine factione existimaret, semperque à talibus se consiliis removisset, respondit, Si quid Brutus de suis facultatibus uti voluisset, usurum quantum ea paterentur: sed neque cum quoquam de eâ re collocuturum, neque coiturum. Sic ille consensionis globus hujus unius dissensione disjectus est. Neque multò post superior esse cœpit Antonius; ita ut Brutus et Cassius, provinciarum, quæ dicis iis causâ datæ erant à consulibus, desperatis rebus,

by the Roman knights for the assassins of Cæsar: They thought that might easily be effected, if the leading persons of that order would contribute money *towards it*. Wherefore Atticus was spoken to by C. Flavius, Brutus's friend, that he would be the beginner of that matter: but he, who thought good offices were to be performed to his friends without *regard to party*, and had always kept himself at a distance from such cabals, replied, that if Brutus had a mind to make any use of his estate, he might use it, as far as it would bear; but that he would neither confer, nor have a meeting with any one upon that affair. Thus this ball of agreement was dashed in pieces, by the dissent of him alone. And not long after Antony began to be upmost; so (a) that Brutus

(a) The text is here most vilely corrupted: *ist, Provinciarum* should, I think, be *in Provincias*, as some critics would have it, for thither it is certain they did go; that is, into Macedonia and Syria; besides *rebus Provinciarum desperatis*, can signify nothing, in my mind, but the case or condition of the provinces being looked upon as desperate, *i. e.* by them; which had it been true, as it was not, would be a strange kind of reason for their going into banishment, and into those very provinces; the provinces were in no danger; they found, and raised together, considerable armies there; enough, any one would have then thought to have chased the three

in exilium proficiscentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum cæteris conferre noluerat, florenti illi parti, abjecto Bruto, Italiæque cedenti, L. S. centum millia muneris misit; eidem in Epiro absens, CCC. jussit dari: neque eò magis potenti adulatus est Antonio, neque desperatos reliquit.

and Cassius, their case being desperate, went into the provinces which had been given them by the consuls, *as it were* into banishment. Atticus, who would not contribute money, together with the rest, to that party, *when* flourishing, sent as a present a hundred thousand sesterces to Brutus, in distress, and retiring out of Italy; and ordered three hundred thousand more to be given him in Epiro: nor did he therefore flatter Antony *now* in power, nor leave those *that were* in a desperate condition.

tyrants, Antony, Lepidus, and Cæsar, out of the Roman empire. 2dly *Dicis Causâ*, for form's sake, cannot stand, because not true. Those provinces had been given them by Cæsar, and confirmed to them by the senate, not in formal empty ceremony, or compliment, whilst they were at bottom never intended for them, but seriously, and out of regard to the public interest; which required that two of the richest provinces of the Roman empire, and the best provided with troops should be in able and trusty hands, well affected to the public liberty, and such as the honest party could depend upon, at so dangerous a juncture. This our author knew as well as any body, and therefore could not be guilty of saying, the provinces were given them *Dicis Causâ*. Nor will the other reading *Necis* do, without the word *Cæsaris*, though I somewhat question even the propriety of that expression; however, without that addition, the word *Necis* can relate to none but the persons mentioned, according to the constant usage of the Latin tongue; and then the sense will be ridiculous, viz. that those provinces were given them upon account of their own death. 3dly, The words *ab Consulibus* look very much like the gloss of some ignoramus in the Roman customs; for provinces were never disposed of by the consuls, but either by lot, by the senate, or by the votes of the people.

CAP. IX. Secutum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam; in quo si tantum eum prudentem dicam, minus quam debeam prædicem, cum ille potius divinus fuerit, si divinatio appellanda est perpetua naturalis bonitas, quæ nullis casibus augetur, neque minuitur. Hostis Antonius judicatus Italiâ cesserat: spes restituendi nulla erat: non solum ejus inimici, qui tum erant potentissimi et plurimi, sed etiam amici adversariis ejus se dabant, et in eo lædendo se aliquam consecuturos sperabant commodita-

CHAP. IX. *After this followed the war carried on at Mutina; (a) in which, if I only style him prudent, I shall commend him less than I ought, since he was rather divine, if an uninterrupted natural goodness, which is neither encreased nor diminished by any events of fortune, is to be called divinity. Antony, being declared an enemy, had quitted Italy; there was no hope of restoring him; not only his enemies, who then were very powerful and very many, but likewise his quondam friends, joined themselves with his enemies, and hoped they should make their advantage by doing him a mischief;*

(a) Compare this passage with another in the close of the 16th chapter, where our author, in commending Cicero's foresight, says, *Prudentiam quodam modo esse divinationem*. I am very inclinable to think that *Divinatio* here is a false reading for *Divinitas*, which is the only salvo I believe can be found for our author. Perhaps some ignorant person, finding the two passages something alike, has pretended to correct the former by the latter, which correction at last got into all the copies. It is plain the text, according to the present reading, is nonsense. There is no manner of affinity or similitude betwixt *Divinatio* in the only sense it can here have, that of prophesying or foretelling by virtue of a divine impulse upon the mind, or inspiration; I say, there is no manner of likeness betwixt *Divinatio* in that sense, and the unalterable goodness or humanity in Atticus, which the author is here commending, and consequently no foundation for such an application of the word *Divinatio*. If we read *Divinitas* for *Divinatio*, the sense will be then what I have expressed in my translation.

tem; ejus familiares in-
sequebantur: uxorem
Fulviam omnibus rebus
spoliare cupiebant; libe-
ros etiam extinguere pa-
rabant. Atticus, cum
Ciceronis intimâ famili-
aritate uteretur, amicis-
simus esset Bruto, non
modo nihil iis indulsit
ad Antonium violandum;
sed è contrario familia-
res ejus, ex urbe profu-
gientes, quantum potuit,
textit; quibus rebus in-
diguerunt, adjuvit. P.
verò Volumnio ea tribu-
it, ut plura à parente
proficisci non potuerint.
Ipsi autem Fulviæ, cum
litibus distineretur, mag-
nisque terroribus vexa-
retur, tantâ diligentîâ
officium suum præstitit,
ut nullum illa stiterit
vadimonium sine Atti-
co; hic sponsor omnium
rerum fuerit: Quineti-

they persecuted his friends;
sought to strip his wife Ful-
via of every thing; and en-
deavoured too to destroy his
children. Atticus, though
he had an intimate familiari-
ty with Cicero, and was a
very great friend to Brutus,
not only complied with them
in nothing for the misusing
of Antony: but on the con-
trary protected, as much as
he could, his friends flying
out of the city; and assisted
them with what things they
wanted. He did these things
for P. Volumnius, that more
could not have come from a
father. But he performed
his *good* offices with so much
care to Fulvia herself, when
she was (a) embarrassed with
law-suits, and harrassed with
great terrors, that she never
appeared upon bail without
Atticus; he was in all cases
her bondsman: Moreover,
when she had bought an es-

(a) *Distinco* seems originally and properly to signify to fasten, or pin down a thing, on several sides, as in that passage of Cæsar, in B. I. C. 15. of the civil war: *Has (naves) quaternis ancoris ex quatuor angulis distinebat, ne fluctibus moverentur.* Thence it was put figuratively for embarrass, encumber, &c. Thus we meet with *distentus bello, curis, occupationibus*, for a person, whose attention is wholly taken up, pinned down, as it were, to the business of war, various concerns or employs, which keep the mind, as it were, on all sides attached to them, so as not to leave it at liberty to move, stir, or apply itself to any thing else.

am, cū illa fundum secundā fortunā emisset in diem, neque post calamitatem versuram facere potuisset, ille se interposuit, pecuniamque, sine fœnore, sineque ulla stipulatione ei credidit, maximum existimans quæstum, memoriam gratumque cognosci; simulque aperire, se non fortunæ, sed hominibus solere esse amicum; quæ cum faciebat, nemo eum temporis causâ facere poterat existimare. Nemini enim in opinionem veniebat, Antonium rerum potiturum. Sed sensus ejus à nonnullis optimatibus reprehendebatur, quòd parum odisse malos cives videretur.

CAP. X. Ille autem sui judicii, potius, quid

tate in her prosperity *to be paid for* by a certain day, and could not take up money for it, after this unhappy turn, he interposed, and trusted her the money without use, or (a) requiring any formal promise of repayment, thinking it the greatest gain, to be found mindful and grateful, and at the same time to shew the world, that he did not use to be a friend to fortune, but to men; which when he did, nobody could think that he did it for time-serving. For it came into nobody's thought, that Antony would *ever* have the superiority *again*. But his conduct was blamed by some of the (b) party of the quality, because he seemed not sufficiently to hate bad citizens.

CHAP. X. But he being *under the guidance* of his

(a) *Stipulor*, from whence the noun *Stipulatio* comes, signifies to require, upon the conclusion of a bargain or agreement, a promise, by repeating, in clear and full terms, the substance of the agreement, as in *Plautus*; *Dabisne argenti mihi hodie viginti minas?* is a *Stipulatio*, to which the other party answers *Dabo*. Atticus was so little concerned for the security of his money, that he did not so much as insist upon a set formal promise for the repayment of it.

(b) Those in Rome, that were for advancing the power of the senate, were called *Optimates*; and those, on the other hand, that stood up for the rights and privileges of the people, were called *Populares*. In the former party were the gentry generally, in the latter the populace.

se facere par esset, in-
tuebatur quàm quid alii
laudaturi forent. Con-
versa subitò fortuna est.
Ut Antonius rediit in
Italiam, nemo non mag-
no in periculo: Atticum
futurum putarât, prop-
ter intimam familiarita-
tem Ciceronis et Bruti:
itaque ad adventum im-
peratorum de foro de-
cesserat, timens pro-
scriptionem: latebatque
apud P. Volumnium,
cui, ut ostendimus pau-
lo antè, opem tulerat.
(Tanta varietas iis tem-
poribus fuit fortunæ, ut
modò hi, modò illi, in
summo essent aut fasti-
gio, aut periculo.) Ha-
bebatque secum Q. Gel-
lium Canium æqualem,
simillimumque sui.
Hoc quoquè sit Attici
bonitatis exemplum,
quòd cum eo, quem pue-
rum in ludo cognoverat,
adeò conjunctè vixit, ut
ad extremam ætatem a-
micitia eorum creverit.

own judgment, regarded ra-
ther what was fit for him to
do, than what others would
commend. On a sudden for-
tune was changed. When
Antony returned into Italy,
every body thought Atticus
would be in great danger,
because of the intimate fami-
liarity of Cicero and Brutus
with him: wherefore upon the
coming of the (a) generals
to town, he had withdrawn
from the forum, fearing
the (b) proscription; and ab-
sconded with P. Volumnius,
to whom he had given his
assistance, as I have shewn a
little above. (So great was
the variety of fortune in
those times, that one while
these, another while those,
were either in the greatest
height *of grandeur*, or the
greatest danger.) And he
had with him Q. Gellius Ca-
nius, equal in age, and very
much like himself. This
likewise may be another in-
stance of Atticus's goodness,
that he lived in such a close
union with him, whom he

(a) Antony, Lepidus, and Cæsar.

(b) Proscription was the posting up of gentlemen's names in the most public parts of Rome, with the promise of a reward to such as would bring their heads. This abominable butchery was first used by Sylla, spoken as above.

Antonius autem, etsi tanto odio ferebatur in Ciceronem, ut non solum ei, sed omnibus etiam ejus amicis esset inimicus, eosque vellet proscribere; multis hortantibus tamen. Attici memor fuit officii; et ei, cum requisisset ubinam esset, suâ manu scripsit, ne timeret, statimque ad se veniret: se eum, et Gellium Canium de proscriptorum numero exemptisse, ac, ne quod periculum incideret, quod noctu fiebat, præsidium ei misit. Sic Atticus in summo timore non solum sibi, sed etiam ei, quem carissimum habebat, præsidio fuit: neque enim suæ solûm à quoquam auxilium petiit salutis, sed conjunctim; ut appareret nullam se junctam sibi ab eo velle esse fortunam: Quod si gubernator præcipuâ laude fertur, qui navem

had known *when* a boy at school, that their friendship grew *even* to their old age. But Antony, though he was pushed on with so great a resentment against (a) Cicero, that he was not an enemy to him only, but to all his friends, and intended to proscribe them: yet, many *people* advising him *to it*, he was mindful of Atticus's kindness; and when he had enquired where he was, wrote to him with his own hand that he should not fear, and that he should come to him out of hand: that he had taken him, and Gellius Canius out of the number of the proscribed; and that he might not fall into any danger, which was *then* usual in the night, he sent him a guard. Thus Atticus, under the utmost apprehension, was not only a security to himself, but also to him whom he held most dear: For he did not desire help, *in order* to his own security only, but in

(a) This Cicero was a person of the highest abilities in Rome, a good philosopher, and the greatest master of eloquence that ever lived; which fine talent cost him his life: For having exerted it in several harangues before the senate against Antony, he so incensed him, that nothing could satisfy him but the head of the speaker, which he got at last, though Cæsar struggled a long time to save him.

ex hyeme; marique scopuloso servat: cur non singularis ejus existimetur prudentia, qui ex tot, tamque gravibus procellis civilibus, ad incolumitatem pervenit?

CAP. XI. Quibus ex malis ut se emerit, nihil aliud egit, quam ut plurimis, quibus rebus posset, esset auxilio. Cúm proscriptos, præmiis imperatorum, vulgas conquireret, nemo in Epirum venit, cui res ulla defuerit: nemini non ibi perpetuo manendi potestas facta est. Quinetiam, post prælium Philippense, interitumque C. Cassii, et M. Bruti, L. Julium, Moccillam Prætorem, et filium ejus, Aulumque Torquatum, cæterosque pari fortunâ perculsos instituit tueri, atque ex Epiro his omnia Samothraciam supportari jus-

conjunction *with his friend*; that it might appear that he had a mind to have no fortune apart from him: But if a pilot is extolled with singular commendation, who saves a ship out of a storm, and a rocky sea; why should not his prudence be thought singular, who, out of so many and such violent civil storms, came to a state of security?

CHAP. XI. Out of which distress after he had delivered himself, he minded nothing else but that he might be aiding to as many as possible, in what things he could. Whilst the common people sought after the proscribed, upon the *promised* rewards of the generals, nobody came into Epiro, to whom any thing was wanting: Every one had a convenience given them of staying there constantly. Moreover, after the battle of (a) Philippi, and the death of C. Cassius, and M. Brutus, he resolved to protect L. Julius Moccilla the prætor, and his son, and A. Torquatus, and the rest *that were* borne down by the like ill fortune, and ordered all

(a) Philippi was a city of Macedonia, nigh the borders of Thrace.

sit. Difficile enim est omnia persequi, et non necessaria: Illud unum intelligi volumus, illius liberalitatem neque temporariam, neque callidam fuisse; id ex ipsis rebus, ac temporibus judicari potest; quòd non florentibus se venditavit, sed afflictis semper succurrit; quì quidem Serviliam Bruti matrem, non minùs post mortem ejus, quàm florentem, coluerit. Sic liberalitate utens, nullas inimicitias gessit, quod neque lædebat quenquam, neque, si quam injuriam acceperat, malebat ulcisci, quàm oblivisci. Idem immortalì memoriâ recepta retinebat beneficia; quæ autem ipse tribuerat, tamdiu meminerat, quoad ille gratus erat, qui acceperat: itaque hic fecit, ut verè dictum videatur, *sui cuique mores fingunt for-*

necessaries to be carried to them from Epirus to (a) Samothrace. (b) But it is difficult to run through all the particulars of *this kind*, and not (c) necessary: We would have this one thing understood, that his generosity was neither temporary nor slyly intended; that may be discerned by the things and times themselves; because he did not make his court to those that were in a flourishing condition, but always succoured the distressed; who treated with honour Servilia the mother of Brutus no less after his death, than *when* in a flourishing condition. Thus employing his generosity, he had no quarrels *with any body*, because he neither injured any one, nor if he had received any injury, did he chuse rather to revenge it, than forget it. The same man kept in perpetual remembrance kindnesses received; but what he himself bestowed, he remem-

(a) Samothrace is an island of the Ægean sea, nigh the coast of Thrace.

(b) *Enim* seems to have been put here by the heedlessness of some copier of books for *Autem*; for what follows is no reason for what goes before, as it should be, if *enim* was the true reading.

(c) This *Necessaria*, I think, should be *necessarium*; for else I see not how it is possible to make sense of this passage.

tunam. Neque tamen prius ille fortunam, quàm se, ipse finxit, qui cavit, ne quâ in re jure plecteretur.

bered so long as he was grateful that had received them; wherefore this he effected *by his behaviour*; that it seems to have been truly said, *every one's manners make his fortune.* (a) Neither yet did he form his fortune before he formed himself, who took care that he should not be justly punished in any case.

CAP. XII. His igitur rebus effecit, ut M. Vipsanius Agrippa, intimâ familiaritate conjunctus adolescenti Cæsari, cùm propter suam gratiam, et Cæsaris potentiam, nullius conditionis non haberet potestatem, potissimùm ejus diligeret affinitatem, præoptaretque equitis R. filiam generosam nuptiis: atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit (non enim

CHAP. XII. By these things therefore he brought it about, that M. Vipsanius Agrippa, united with the youth Cæsar in a close familiarity, who, by reason of his own interest and Cæsar's power, had a possibility of *attaining* any match *whatever*, chose his affinity above all others, and preferred the daughter of a Roman knight before the matches of the (b) most noble ladies: And the maker up of this match

(a) What our author here says, is, in my opinion, very silly; *tamen* always intimates some seeming opposition betwixt what goes before, and what follows; but there is so far from being any such seeming opposition here, that there is a very manifest agreement, it following very evidently from the maxim foregoing, if true, that Atticus, to form his fortune, must form himself first.

(b) *Generosam*, should be, in my opinion, *Generosarum*; for though the lady was of an equestrian family, yet since none of the family had ever arrived at the senatorian order, she could not be called *generosa*, in comparison of many other ladies in Rome that were far beyond her in point of quality.

est celandum) M. Antonius, Triumvir Reip. constituendæ cujus gratiâ cum augere possessiones posset suas, tantum abfuit à cupiditate pecuniæ, ut nullâ in re usus sit eâ, nisi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis, aut incommodis: quod quidem sub ipsam proscriptionem perillustre fuit: nam cum L. Saufei equitis R. æqualis sui, qui complures annos, studio ductus philosophiæ, Athenis habitabat, habebatque in Italiâ pretiosas possessiones, Triumviri bona vendidissent; consuetudine eâ, quâ tum res gerebantur; Attici labore atque industriâ factum est, ut eodem nuntio Saufei fieret certior, se patrimonium amisisse, et recuperâsse. Idem L. Julium Calidium, quem post Lucretii Catullique mortem, multò elegantissimum poëtam, nostram tulisse ætatem, verè videor posse contendere; neque minus virum bonum, optimisque artibus eruditum;

was (for we must not conceal it) M. Antony, the triumvir for settling the commonwealth; by whose interest when he might have increased his possessions, he was so far from a greedy desire of money, that he made use of that *interest* in nothing, but begging off the dangers and troubles of his friends; which was very remarkable in *the time of* the proscription: For when the Triumviri, according to the way in which things were then managed, had sold the estate of L. Saufei a Roman knight, his friend, who moved by his fancy, for philosophy, lived several years at Athens, and had in Italy valuable possessions; it was brought about by the pains and industry of Atticus, that Saufei was made acquainted by the same message, that he had lost his estate and recovered it. The same person likewise brought off L. Julius Calidius, whom methinks I may truly affirm our age has produced much the finest poet, since the death of Lucretius and Catullus; and no less a good man, and skilled in the best arts; after the proscription of

post proscriptionem equitum, propter magnas ejus Africanas possessiones, in proscriptorum numerum a P. Volumnio, præfecto fabrum Antonii, absentem relatum, expedivit; quod in præsentì, utrum ei laboriosius an gloriosius fuerit, difficile fuit judicare; quòd in eorum periculis non secùs absentes, quàm præsentès amicos Attico esse curæ, cognitum est.

CAP. XIII. Neque verò minùs ille vir bonus paterfamilias habitus est, quàm civis. Nam cùm esset pecuniosus, nemo illo minùs fuit emax, minus ædificator; neque tamen non in primis bene habitavit, omnibusque optimis rebus usus est; nam domum habuit in colle Quirinali Tamphilanam, ab avunculo hæreditate relictam, cujus amœnitas non ædificio, sed sylvâ constabat; ipsum enim tectum, antiquitus constitutum, plùs salis, quàm sumptùs, habebat: in quo nihil commutavit, nisi si quid vetustate coactus est.

the knights, put into the number of the proscribed, because of his great estate in Africa, by P. Volumnius, a director of Antony's engineers: which whether it was more laborious or more glorious at that time was hard to judge; because it was observed Atticus's friends, in their dangers were no less his care *when* absent, than *when* present.

CHAP. XIII. Neither was this gentleman reckoned a less good master of a family, than a citizen. For tho' he was a monied man, yet nobody was less addicted to buying, nor less a builder; and yet he had a very convenient dwelling, and had all things *of* the very best. For he had the Tamphilan house on the Quirinal hill, an estate left him by his uncle, the pleasantness of which did not consist in the building *itself*, but in a wood; for the house itself, being old built, had more of neatness than expence *about it*; in which he changed nothing, unless he was forced by the oldness of it. He had

Usus est familiâ, si utilitate judicandum est, optima; si formâ, vix mediocri; namque in eâ erant pueri literatissimi, anagnostæ optimi, et plurimi librarii; ut ne pedissequus quidem quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum pulchrè facere posset. Pari modo artifices cæteri, quos cultus domesticus desiderat, apprimè boni; neque tamen horum quenquam, nisi domi natum, domique factum, habuit; quod est signum non solum continentiæ, sed etiam diligentiae: nam et non intemperanter concupiscere, quod à plurimis videas, continentis debet duci; et potius diligentiam, quam pretio, parare, non mediocris est industriæ. Elegans, non magnificus; splendidus, non sumptuosus: omni diligentiam munditiem non affluentem affectabat: suppellex modica, non multa, ut in neutram

(a) family of servants, if we are to judge by convenience very good; if by outward appearance scarcely indifferent; for in it were very learned boys, very good readers, and many transcribers of books; that there was not indeed any footman, that could not do both these very well. In like manner other artists, which domestic use requires, *were* extremely good; neither yet had he any of those, but *what was* born in his house; and instructed in his house: which is a sign not only of moderation, but diligence. For not extravagantly to desire, what you see *to be so desired* by many, ought to be accounted *the part* of a moderate man; and to procure *things* by diligence, rather than purchase, is a matter of no small industry. *He was* elegant, not magnificent; splendid, not prodigal: He affected, with all *possible care*, a neatness *that was* not extravagant: His furniture *was* moderate, not much; so as to be remarkable neither way. Nor shall I pass this

(a) *Familia* is often, as here, put for the servants of a family only; and good reason why, since the word seems plainly derived from *famulus*, or else the latter from the former.

partem conspici posset. Nec hoc præteribo, quanquam nonnullis leve visum iri putem: cum in primis lautus esset eques Rom. et non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret; scimus non ampliùs quam terna millia æris peræque, in singulos menses, ex ephemeride eum expensum sumptui ferre solitum; atque hoc non auditum, sed cognitum prædicamus: sæpe enim, propter familiaritatem, domesticis rebus interfuimus.

CAP. XIV. Nemo in convivio ejus aliud *αγοζα* audit, quàm anagnosten; quod nos quidem jucundissimum arbitramur: neque un-

by, although I suppose it may seem a slight matter to some: Though he was a genteel Roman knight, and invited, not a little generously, men of all ranks to his house; we know that he did not use to reckon from his (a) day-book expended *more* than three thousand (b) asses a month, one with another: And this we affirm, not *as* a thing heard, but a certainty: because we were often, by reason of our intimacy, actually present at the *management* of his domestic affairs.

CHAP. XIV. Nobody ever heard any other (a) entertainment for the ears at his meals than a reader; which we truly think very pleasant: nor was there ever a supper

(a) It was usual with the Romans to keep an exact account of their daily disbursements, and receipts too, as appears from many passages in the Roman writers; the book, in which these accounts were kept, was called *Ephemeris*.

(b) The *A*. was nearly a penny of our money, and so the whole sum almost eleven pounds. Things must have been very cheap at Rome, in comparison to what they are now-a-days with us, otherwise Atticus could not have frequently entertained, and that handsomely and genteely, persons of the best quality at his table, at so small an expence monthly.

(c) It was usual at the tables of persons of quality in Rome, to entertain the guests with music, farces, &c.

quam sine aliquâ lectione apud eum cœnatum est; ut non minùs animo, quàm ventre, convivæ delectarentur; namque eos vocabat, quorum mores à suis non abhorrerent. Cùm tanta pecuniæ facta esset accessio, nihil de quotidiano cultu mutavit; nihil de vitæ consuetudine: tantâque usus est moderatione, ut neque in sestertio vicies, quod à patre acceperat, parum se splendide gesserit; neque in sestertio centies, affluentius vixerit, quàm instituerat: parique fastigio steterit in utrâque fortunâ. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam; neque in Italiâ, præter Ardeatinum, et Nomentanum, rusticum prædium: oninisque ejus pecuniæ reditus constabat in Epiroticis, et urbanis possessionibus; ex quo cognosci potest, eum usum pecuniæ non mag-

at his house, without some reading; that his guests might be entertained in their minds, as well as their stomachs; for he invited those, whose manners were not different from his own. And after so great an addition was made to his estate, he changed nothing of his daily way of life; nothing of his usual method of living; and used so much moderation, that neither in an estate of twenty times a hundred thousand sesterces, which he had received from his father, did he behave himself ungentely; nor in an estate of a hundred times a hundred thousand sesterces, did he live more plentifully than he had been used to do; and stood upon an equal height in both fortunes. He had no gardens, no magnificent seat nigh the city, or upon the sea: nor any land estate in Italy, besides that at (a) Ardea, and at (b) Nomentum: and his whole income of money consisted in his possessions in Epire, and the city of *Rome*; from whence

(a) Ardea was a city of Latium, nigh the sea, about twenty miles from Rome.

(b) Nomentum, a town in the country of the Sabines.

nitudine, sed ratione
metiri solitum.

CAP. XV. Mendacium neque dicebat, neque pati poterat; itaque ejus comitas non sine severitate erat, neque gravitas sine facilitate; ut difficile esset intellectu, utrum eum amici magis vererentur, an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiosè promittebat; quod non liberalis, sed levis arbitrabatur, polliceri quod præstare non posset. Idem in nitendo quod semel admisisset, tanta erat cura, ut non mandatam, sed suam rem videretur agere. Nunquam suscepti negotii eum pertæsum est; suam enim existimationem in ea re agi putabat, quâ nihil habebat carius; quo fiebat, ut omnia Marci et Quinti Ciceronum, Catonis, Hortensii, A. Torquati, mul-

it may be understood, that he measured the use of money, not by its quantity, but by the manner of using it.

CHAP. XV. He neither told a lie himself; nor could he endure it: Wherefore his (a) complaisance was not without a strict regard to truth, nor his gravity without a good degree of compliance; that it was hard to be understood, whether his friends revered or loved him more. Whatsoever he was asked, he promised (b) scrupulously; because he thought *it the part* not of a generous but an inconsiderate man, to promise what he could not perform. The same *man* was a person of so much application in endeavouring to *effect* what he had once promised, that he did not seem to manage an affair recommended to him by another, but his own. He was never weary of a business he had undertaken; for he thought his credit concerned in that matter, than which he ac-

(a) *Comitas* signifies complaisance or civility, in the expression of which it has always been but too customary to have small regard to truth

(b) He was not very forward in his promises, lest the performance should not be in his power.

torum præterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret: ex quo judicari poterat, non inertia sed judicio fugisse Reipub. procuracionem.

CAP. XVI. Humanitatis verò nullum afferre majus testimonium possum, quàm quòd adolescens, idem seni Syllæ fuerit jucundissimus: senex, adolescenti M. Bruto; cum æqualibus autem suis Q. Hortensio, et M. Cicerone, sic vixerit, ut judicare difficile sit, cui ætati fuerit aptissimus; quanquam eum præcipuè dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus carior fuerit, aut familiarior. Ei rei sunt indicio, præter eos libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus jam sunt editi, sexdecim volumina epistolarum, ab consulatu ejus usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum; quæ qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam eo-

counted nothing more valuable; from whence it was, that he managed all the affairs of the Ciceros, Marcus and Quintus, of Cato, Hortensius, A. Torquatus, and many Roman knights besides; from which it might be judged, that he declined the business of government, not out of laziness, but judgment.

CHAP. XVI. But I can produce no greater proof of his politeness, than that the same *man when* young, was very agreeable to Sylla an old man; and *when* old, *was* the same to M. Brutus, a young man; but he so lived with his friends of the same age with himself, Q. Hortensius and M. Cicero, that it is hard to judge to what age he was most suited; tho' Cicero loved him in a particular manner, so that his brother Quintus was not more dear to him, or more familiar *with him*. And sixteen volumes of epistles sent to Atticus, from *the time of* his consulship, to the latter end of his life, are a proof of that thing; besides those books, wherein he makes mention of him, which are published to the world; which he that reads won't much want a continued history of those times: For

rum temporum: sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, ac mutationibus Reip. perscripta sunt, ut nihil in iis non appareat: et faciliè existimari possit, prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem: non enim Cicero ea solum, quæ vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit; sed etiam, quæ nunc usu veniunt, cecinit vates.

CAP. XVII. Depietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem; cum hoc ipsum vere gloriantem audierim, in funere matris suæ, quam extulit annorum nonaginta; cum esset septem et sexaginta; se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediisse; nunquam cum sorore fuisse in similitudine, quam prope æqualem habebat; quod est signum, aut nullam unquam inter eos querimoniam intercessisse, aut hunc eam fuisse in suos indulgentiâ, ut quos amare deberet, irasci eis, nefas duceret. Neque id fecit naturâ solum, quanquam omnes ei paremus, sed etiam doc-

so all particulars are put down, relating to the designs of the leading men, the faults of the commanders, and the revolutions of the government, that every thing appears in them; and it may be easily thought, that prudence is in some measure a divine foresight: for Cicero did not only foretel those things would be, which happened *whilst* he *was* alive; but likewise predicted, as a prophet, what now comes to pass.

CHAP. XVII. As to Atticus's affection for his relations, why should I say much? having heard him boast of this, *and truly too* at the funeral of his mother, whom he buried at ninety years of age, when he was sixty-seven; that he never returned to a good understanding with his mother, never was at any difference with his sister; which he had nearly of the same age; which is a sign, either that no complaint had passed betwixt them, or that he was a *man* of so much indulgence for his relations, that he reckoned it a crime to be angry with those whom he ought to love. Nor did he do this from nature only, altho' we all obey her, but likewise out of principle, for

trinâ: nam et principum philosophorum ita præcepta habuit præcepta, ut iis ad vitam agendam, non ad ostentationem uteretur.

CAP. XVIII. Moris etiam majorum summus imitator fuit, antiquitatisque amator; quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistratus ornavit. Nulla enim lex, neque pax, neque bellum, neque res illustris est populi Rom. quæ non, in eo, suo tempore, sit notata: et, quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris: ut M. Bruti rogatu, Juniam familiam à stirpe ad hanc ætatem ordine enumeravit, notans qui, à quo ortus, quos honores, quibusque temporibus cepis-

he had so learned the precepts of the greatest philosophers, that he made use of them for the conduct of his life, and not for ostentation.

CHAP. XVIII. He was likewise a great imitator of the custom of our ancestors, and a lover of antiquity; which he had so diligently enquired into, that he gave an account of it thoroughly in that volume, in which (a) he has put down, in order of time, the *several* magistrates of Rome: There is no law, nor peace, nor war, nor illustrious affair of the Roman people, which is not set down in its proper time: And, what was very difficult, he has so interwoven the original of families, that we may learn from thence the descents of famous men. He did this same thing apart in other books; as, at the request of M. Brutus, he reckoned up in order the Junian family from their original to this age, taking notice of what offices, and at what time, every one, and from

(a) I am of the opinion of those who think that for *ornavit* we ought to read *ordinavit*. *Ornare Magistratus* is indeed a Latin expression, but bears a sense quite foreign to any purpose of our author.

set. Pari modo, Marcelli Claudii, de Marcellorum; Scipionis Cornelii, et Fabii Maximi, de Corneliorum, et Fabiorum, et Æmiliorum: quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiæ clarorum virorum. Attigit quoque poëticen, credimus, ne ejus expers esset suavitatis. Namque versibus, qui honore, rerumque gestarum amplitudine cæteros Romani populi præstiterunt, exposuit; ita ut sub singulorum imaginibus, facta magistratusque eorum non amplius quaternis, quinisve versibus descripserit; quod vix credendum sit, tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari. Est etiam liber, Græcè confectus, de consulatu Ciceronis. Hactenus, Attico vivo, edita hæc à nobis sunt.

whom descended, had borne. In like manner, *at the request of* Marcellus Claudius, *he enumerated that* (a) of the Marcelli. *At the request of* Scipio Cornelius and Fabius Maximus, *that* of the Cornelii, and the Fabii, and the Æmilii: than which books nothing can be more pleasant to those, who have any fancy for the knowledge of famous men. He likewise had a touch at poetry, that he might not be unacquainted with that pleasure, we suppose. For he has related in verses, *the lives of those* who excelled the rest of the Roman people in honour, and the greatness of their exploits; so that he has described, under each of their images, their actions and offices, in no more than four or five verses: which is scarcely to be believed, that such great things could be so briefly delivered. There is likewise a book of *his* written in Greek, concerning the consulship of Cicero. Thus far was published by us, *whilst* Atticus was living.

(a) The preposition *De* should certainly be out, and accordingly some manuscripts have it not.

CAP. XIX. Nunc, quoniam fortuna nos superstites ei esse voluit, reliqua persequemur; et, quantum poterimus rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, sicut suprà significavimus, *Suos cuique mores plerumque conciliare fortunam.* Namque hic contentus ordine Equestri, quo erat ortus, in affinitatem pervenit imperatoris, Divi Julii filii, cum jam ante familiaritatem ejus esset consecutus nullâ aliâ re, quàm elegantiam vitæ, quâ cæteros ceperat principes civitatis, dignitate pari, fortunâ humiliore. Tanta enim prosperitas Cæsarem est consecuta, ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiquam ante detulerit; et conciliârit

CHAP. XIX. Now, since fortune had a mind that we should be the survivors of him, we will go thro' the remainder of *his life*; and, as far as we can, will inform our readers by instances of fact as we have signified above, *That every man's manners for the most part make his fortune.* For he being content with the Equestrian order, from whence he was descended, came into the alliance of the (a) Emperor Julius's son, after he had before gained a familiarity with him, by nothing else but the elegance of his life, by which (b) he had charmed the other great men of the city, of equal quality, but a lower fortune *than Cæsar*. For so much prosperity attended Cæsar, that Fortune gave him every thing that she had bestowed upon any one be-

(a) I have not thought it worth while to translate *Diour*; it would sound very oddly in our language to give the stile of a god to such an ambitious wicked mortal as Julius Cæsar was. It was a profane stupid practice amongst the Romans, not to be outdone by any thing amongst the most barbarous nations to rank their emperors, (unless they were devils indeed) after their decease, amongst the gods; which continued even some time after the emperors became christians, if Eutropius may be trusted.

(b) Here I have the misfortune again to differ very widely from major Pack. Which of us is mistaken, must be referred to the judgment of the intelligent reader, that shall think it worth while to compare our translations with the original.

quod civis Romanus quivit consequi. Nata autem est Attico neptis ex Agrippâ, cui virginem filiam collocârat: Hanc Cæsar, vix anniculam, Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Drusillâ nato, privigno suo, despondit; quæ conjunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiore.

CAP. XX. Quamvis ante hæc sponsalia, non solùm, cùm ab urbe abesset, nunquam ad suorum quenquam literas misit, quin Attico mitteret, quid ageret; imprimis, quid legeret, quibusque in locis, et quamdiu esset moraturus; sed et cùm esset in urbe, et propter suas infinitas occupationes, minùs sæpe, quàm vellet, Attico frueretur, nullus dies tamen temerè intercessit, quo non ad eum scriberet, quo non aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret: modo aliquam quæstionem poëticam ei proponeret; interdum jocans ejus verbosiores eliceret epistolas: ex quo accidit, cum

fore; and procured him *all* that a Roman citizen could accomplish. Now Atticus had a grand-daughter born of Agrippa, to whom he had disposed of his daughter *when* a virgin: Cæsar contracted her, *when* scarcely a year old, to T. Claudius Nero, born of Drusilla, his step-son; which match established their friendship, and rendered their familiar converse more frequent.

CHAP. XX. Altho' before this match, not only when he was absent from town, he never sent a letter to any of his friends, but he sent one to Atticus, *to acquaint him* what he was doing; especially what he was reading, and in what places, and how long he would stay; but also, when he was in town, and because of his infinite business, enjoyed Atticus not so oft as he had a mind, yet no day scarcely passed in which he did not write to him, in which he did not make some enquiry relating to antiquity: sometimes he would propose some poetical question to him; sometimes jesting would draw from him a long letter; from whence it happened, when the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, built in the capitol

ædes Jovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo constituta, vetustate atque incuriâ detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Cæsar eam reficiendam curaret. Neque verò à M. Antonio minùs, absens, literis colebatur, adeò ut accuratè ille, ex ultimis terris, quid ageret quid curæ sibi haberet, certiores faceret Atticum. Hoc quale sit, faciliùs existimabat is, qui judicare poterit, quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solùm æmulationis, sed obtretractio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium; cum se uterque principem non solùm urbis Romanæ, sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.

CAP. XXI. Tali modo, cùm septem et septuaginta annos complisset, atque ad extremam senectutem non minùs dignitate, quam gratiâ fortunæque crevisset, (multas enim hæreditates nullâ aliâ re, quàm

by Romulus, being uncovered thro' age and neglect, was coming down, that upon the admonition of Atticus, Cæsar took care that it was repaired. Nor was he less civilly applied to in letters by M. Antony, when absent. So that he made Atticus acquainted particularly, from the remotest parts of the earth, with what he was doing, what care he had upon him. How considerable this is, he will more easily imagine, who can judge how great *a point of* wisdom it is to keep the friendship and favour of those, betwixt whom there passed not only so great an emulation upon account of matters of the utmost importance, but a mutual struggle to lessen one another, as was necessary to happen betwixt Cæsar and Antony; whilst each of them desired to be the prince, not only of the city of Rome, but of the world.

CHAP. XXI. After he had completed, in this manner, seventy-seven years, and had advanced no less in dignity, than in favour and fortune, to an extreme old age, (for he had got several inheritances by no other thing than his goodness) and had such a

bonitate, esset consecutus) tantâque prosperitate usus esset valetudinis, ut annis triginta medicinâ non indiguisset; nactus est morbum, quem initio et ipse et medici contempserunt: nam putârunt esse *τενεσμον*, cui remedia celeria faciliaque proponebantur. In hoc cùm tres menses sine ullis doloribus, præterquam, quos ex curatione capiebat, consumpsisset; subito tanta vis morbi in unum intestinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore, per lumbos fistula putris eruperit: atque hoc priusquam ei accideret, postquam in dies dolores accrescere, febremque accessisse sensit; Agrippam generum ad se accersi iussit, et cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum, Sextumque Peducæum. Hos ut venisse vidit, in cubitum innixus, *Quantam, inquit, curam diligentiamque in valetudine meâ tuendâ hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum*

happy state of health, that he stood not in need of *any* physic for thirty years *together*; he contracted a distemper, which at first both he and his physicians despised; for they thought it to be (a) a tenesmos; for which speedy and easy remedies were proposed. After he had passed three months in this distemper without any pains, besides what he received from the *method taken for his cure*; on a sudden so great a violence of the distemper broke out upon one of his intestines, that at length, a putrid fistula brake thro' his loins: And before this happened to him, after he found that his pains grew upon him every day, and that a fever was superadded to them; he ordered his son-in-law Agrippa to be called to him, and with him L. Cornelius Balbus, and Sextus Peducæus. When he saw they were come, leaning upon his elbow, he said, *how much care and diligence I have employed to restore my health, since I have you for my witnesses, there is no need to recount in*

(a) A *Tenesmos* is a violent motion, without a power of going to stool.

vos testes habeam, nihil necesse pluribus verbis commemorare: quibus quoniam, ut spero, satisfeci, nihilque reliqui feci, quod ad sanandum me pertineret, reliquum est, ut egomet mihi consulam. Id vos ignorare nolui; nam mihi stat alere morbum desinere: Namque his diebus quicquid cibi sumpsi, ita produxi vitam, ut auxerim dolores, sine spe salutis. Quare à vobis peto, primum ut consilium probetis meum; deinde, ne frustrà dehortando conemini.

CAP. XXII. Hæc oratione habitâ, tanta constantiâ vocis atque vultûs, ut non ex vitâ sed ex domo in domum videretur migrare: cum quidem Agrippa cum, flens, atque osculans, oraret, atque obsecraret, Ne id quod Natura cogeret, ipse quoquè sibi acceleraret; et quoniam

many words. Whom since I have satisfied, as I hope, and have left nothing undone that was proper in the judgment of the doctors to cure me, it remains that I provide for myself. I had no mind you should be ignorant of it; for my resolution is fixed, to give over feeding the distemper: For whatsoever meat I have taken for some days, I have so prolonged my life, that I encreased my pains, without any hopes of recovery. Wherefore I beg of you, in the first place, that you would approve my resolution; if not, that then you would not labour in vain by dissuading me.

CHAP. XXII. Having made this speech, with such a steadiness of voice and countenance, that he seemed not to be removing out of life, but out of one house into another; when Agrippa, weeping and kissing, begged and entreated him, that he would not hasten that which nature would oblige him to; (a) and since he might live

(a) I have translated the words *temporibus superesse* by "live some time longer;" because it seems pretty plain by the context, the author intended to say some such thing; but I look upon the reading to be faulty; for the words will not bear that sense, nor in my opinion any sense at all.

tum quoquè posset temporibus superesse, se sibi suisque reservaret: preces ejus taciturnâ sua obstinatione depressit. Sic, cùm biduum cibo se abstinuisset, subito febris decessit, leviorque morbus esse cœpit: tamen propositum nihilo seciùs peregit. Itaque die quinto postquam id consilium iniêrat, pridie Kal. April. Cn. Domitio, C. Sosio COSS. decessit. Elatus est in lecticula, ut ipse præscripserat, sine ullâ pompâ funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis, maximâ vulgi frequentiâ. Sepultus est juxtâ viam Appiam, ad quintum lapidem, in monumento Q. Cæciliî avunculi sui.

for some time longer, that he would save himself for himself, and his friends; he put a stop to his entreaties, by a silent obstinacy. Thus, after he had abstained from *all* food for two days, on a sudden his fever went off, and the distemper began to be more easy; yet notwithstanding he executed his purpose. Wherefore upon the fifth day after he had entered upon that resolution, (*a*) the day before the calends of April, *when* Cn. Domitius, and C. Sossius *were* consuls, he died. He was carried *to his funeral* upon a little couch, as he himself had ordered, without any pomp of funeral, all good people attending him, with a great crowd of the populace. He was buried near the Appian way, (*b*) at the fifth *mile*-stone, in the monument of Q. Cæcilius his uncle.

(*a*) The last of *March*, for the first day of every month was called the Calends.

(*b*) There was in all the great roads from Rome, set up at every mile's end, a stone.

VERBA CORNELIÆ GRACCHORUM MATRIS

EX CORNELII NEPOTIS LIBRO

EXCERPTA.

DICIS, Pulchrum esse inimicos ulcisci: Id neque majus neque pulchrius cuiquam atque mihi esse videtur: sed si liceat rep. salvâ eos persequi: sed quatenus id fieri non potest, multo tempore, multisque partibus, inimici nostri non peribunt, atque uti nunc sunt, erunt, potiùs quàm resp. profligetur atque pereat.

Verbis conceptis dejerare ausim, præterquam quî Tiberium Gracchum necârunt, neminem inimicum tantum molestiæ, tantumque laboris, quantum te ob has res mihi tradidisse; quem oportebat omnium eorum quos antehac habui liberos, partes eorum tolerare, atque curare, ut quam minimum solitudinis in senectâ haberem, utique quæcumque ageres, ea velles maximè mihi placere, atque uti nefas haberes rerum majorum adversum meam sententiam quicquam facere; præsertim mihi, cui parva pars vitæ superest. Ne id quidem tam breve spatium potest opitulari, quin et mihi adverseris, et remp. profliges. Denique quæ pausa erit, et quando desinet familia nostra insanire? et quando modus ei rei haberi poterit? et quando desinemus et habentes et præbentes, molestiis desistere? et quando perpudescet mis-

cenda atque perturbanda rep.? Sed si omnino id non fieri potest, ubi ego mortua ero, petito tribunatum, facito quod lubebit, cùm ego non sentiam: ubi mortua ero parentabis mihi, et invocabis Deum parentem in eo tempore. Nec pudet te eorum Deum preces expetere, quos vivos atque præsentes, relictos atque desertos habueris? Ne ille sinat Jupiter, te ea perseverare, nec tibi tantam dementiam venire in animo; et si perseveras, vereor ne omnem vitam tantum laboris culpâ tuâ recipias, uti, in nullo tempore tutè tibi placere possis.

Ex I. Chronicorum Libro.

Homerus et Hesiodus vixerunt ante Romam conditam ann. circiter centum et quinquaginta. *Gellius, lib. 17. cap. 21.*

Ex I. librorum de vitâ Ciceronis.

M. Tullius Cicero tres et viginti annos natus, primum campum judicii publici egit, Sextumque Roscium paricidii reum defendit. *Gellius, lib. 25. cap. 28.*

Ex II. libro de viribus Illustribus.

Carisius, lib. 2 citat vocem subinde. Et ex 15. idem, lib. 1. citat illum modum dicendi, Harum partium. Et ex 16 illa verba, A fratre patruale rem necessitudinis, sed personam ostendat.

Ex incerto libro de viris illustribus.

Justè venustèque admodum reprehendisse dicitur A. Albinum M. Cato. Albinus, qui cum L. Lucullo consul fuit, res Romanas oratione Græcâ scriptitavit: In ejus historiæ principio scriptum est ad hanc sententiam: Neminem succensere sibi convenire, si quid in his libris parùm composite, aut minùs eleganter scriptum foret. Nam sum, inquit, homo Romanus, natus in Latio: Græca oratio à nobis alienissima est. Ideoque veniam, gratiamque malæ existimationis, si quid esset erratum, postulavit. Ea cùm legisset M. Cato, Næ tu, inquit, Aule, nimium nugator es, cùm maluisti culpam

deprecari, quàm culpâ vacare. Nam petere veniam solemus, aut cùm imprudentes erravimus, aut cùm compulsi peccavimus. Tibi, inquit, oro te, quis perpulit, ut id committeres, quòd priusquam faceres, peteres ut ignosceretur? *Gellius, lib. 11. cap. 8.*

Archilochus Tullo Hostilio Romæ regnante jam tunc fuit poëmatís clarus et nobilis. Idem, lib. 17. cap. 21.

Ex libris Exemplorum.

A virgine Vestali. *Hoc citat Carisius, lib. 1. ex. 2. Exemplorum libro.*

Multis in senatu placuit, ut ii, qui redire nollent, datis custodibus, ad Annibalem deducerentur, sed ea sententia numero plurium, quibus id non videbatur, superata est; ii tamen, qui ad Annibalem non rediêrunt, usque adeò intestabiles, invisique fuerunt, ut tædium vitæ ceperint, necemque sibi consciverint. *Gellius, lib. 7. cap. 18. ex 5. Exemplorum libro.*

Ex incerto libro.

Ædes Martis est in circo Flaminio architectata ab Hermodoro Salaminio. *Priscianus, lib. 8.*

Eudoxus quidam meâ ætate, cum Lathyrem Regem fugeret, Arabico sinu egressus, Gades usque pervectus est. *Plinius, lib. 11. cap. 67.*

Latudinis ubi minimum, septem millia passuum; ubi verò plurimum, decem millia. *Plinius, in Proæmio, lib. 3.*

Melpum, opulentia præcipuum, ab Insubribus, et Boiis, et Senonibus, deletum est eo die quo Camillus Veios, cepit. *Idem Plinius, libri ejusdem, cap. 17.*

Istro in Adriam effluentem à Danubio amne ex adverso Padi fauces, contrario eorum percussu, mari interjecto, dulcescente. *Plinius libri ejusdem, cap. 18.*

Alpes in latitudinem C. M. *Idem, lib. ejusdem, cap. 19.*

Cerne insula abest ex adverso maximè Carthaginis à continente passus mille, non amplior circuitu duobus millibus. *Idem, lib. 6. cap. 31.*

Post accipenserem, præcipua auctoritas fuit lupo, et asellis. *Idem, lib. 9. cap. 18.*

Me juvene violacea purpura vigebat, cujus libra denariis C. veniebat, nec multò post rubra Tarentina. Huic successit dibapha Tyria, quæ in libras denariis mille non poterat emi. Hæc P. Lentulus Spinther, Ædilis Curulis primus, in pretextâ usus, improbatur. Quâ purpurâ, quis non jam triclinaria facit? *Idem, lib. 19. cap. 19.*

Turdi paulò ante Augusti principatum cœpti saginari. Ciconiæ magis placent, quàm grues. *Idem, lib. 10. cap. 23.*

Magnitudo Loti arboris brevit. *Idem, lib. 23. cap. 17.*

Vinum exprimitur illi simile mulso, quod ultra denos dies non durat, beccæque contusæ cum alicâ ad cibos doliis conduntur. *Idem Plinius, ibidem.*

Scandula contacta fuit Roma ad Pyrrhi usque bellum, annis quadrigentis septuaginta. *Idem, lib. 16. cap. 10.*

Ante Syllæ victoriam duo tantum triclinia Romæ fuerunt argentea. *Idem, lib. 33. cap. 11.*

Cleophantus Corinthis secutus est in Italiam Demaratum Tarquinii Prisci Romani Regis patrem, fugientem à Corintho injurias Cypsellii tyranni. *Idem, lib. 35. cap. 3.*

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- firo se verba facere*, 11.
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- Concupiscere majora, *de molitionibus elatorum, qui suâ conditione non contenti, ambitiosè res novas querunt*, 4. 1.
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- Conferre factâ clar. virorum, *comparare*, 23. 3.
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- Confirmare quid, *fidem rei facere*, 14. 11. confirmare regnum, *stabilire*, 1. 3.
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- Conjicere, *divinare de futuris*, 2. 1. conjicere se in sacrarium, *illuc confugere, securitatis gratia*, 2. 8.
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- l'ator, 9. 1.
- Conscripti patres, 23. 12.
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lemni titulo, ita compel-
lari solebat.
- Consectari, cum studio et
labore prosequendo con-
quirere, 2. 4.
- Consentire, conspirare, 14.
5. globus consensionis,
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- Consequi quid, perficere,
24. 10. consequuta est
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ras, honorem earum, et
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gendo, 9. 4. in consili-
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datis, 13. 3.
- Consistere, de acie instruc-
tâ, 11. 2.
- Constituere urbem, deser-
tam eversamque de inte-
gro condere, incolis et
reph. formare, 15. 8.
- Constituere quantum quis-
que daret, de arbitrio, ju-
dicio, consilio, 3. 3.
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se apud, consuetudine
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13. 3.
- Contineri hospitio cu-
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foedere hospitii cum ali-
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Decurrere in spatio, *de equis exerceri cursu solitis*, 18. 5.

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- Deesse cui, *in judicio non defendere*, 13. 4. nullus honor huic defuit, *circumlocutio honoratissimi*, 20. 3.
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- Degredi à suis, *longius provehi*, 16. 5.
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- Demades Athenas tradit cupit Antipatro, 19. 2.
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- Demetrius, *Antig. Fil. perit in custodiâ*, 21. 3. Phalerius, 1. 6.
- Deprecari pericula amicorum, *ne illos affligant*, 25. 12.
- Deprimere naves, *demergere*, 9. 4.
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- Dercyllus, *Antipatri præfectus*, 19. 2.
- Desperatis rebus provinciarum, *cum diffis essent provinciis*, 25. 8.
- Destitui ab aliquo, *de rejectis precibus, negatque auxilio*, 7. 5.
- Deterior peditatu, *inferior*, 11. 3.
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- Detrahere de aliquo, *de invidiosâ et obtractatoriâ depressione*, 12. 1.
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- Devia itinera, *occulta et insueta*, 18. 3.
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- Devocare, 5. 4. *est vocare ad canam.*
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- Dicere causam capitis, *in judicio capitali pro se respondere et verba facere*, 7. 4. dicere pro se, *sc. in judicio*, 1. 7. dicendo valere, *hæc vox propriè eloquentiam notat et artem*, 7. 1.

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- Dictum, dicto audiens alicui, *obediendi signif.* 6. 1.
- Dies supremus, *mors,* 7. 10. dies induciarum, *scil. ultimus,* 17. 3. in diem emere, *ut solvas post aliquod tempus,* 25. 9.
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- Dinertur rumor, *dispergitur,* 10. 10.
- Dignus memoriâ, *celebrari dignus ad posteros,* 13. 4.
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- Dimicare adversus quem, *resistere, in aciem exire advers,* 1. 4. dimicare de famâ, *de causâ in judicio disceptand,* 13. 4.
- Dimittere imperium, *deponere,* 20. 2. vitam, *amittere, negligere,* 23. 12. dimisit eum nusquam ab se, *retinuit in convictu assiduo.*
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- Dion Syracusanus describitur, 10. 1.
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- Disjicere copias alicujus, *dissipare,* 1. 2.
- Dispalata multitudo, *pala-bundi et dispersi passim, vagantesque,* 23. 5.
- Dispositi, *scil. milites in acie stantès,* 11. 2.
- Disputare de rep. *disserere,* 15. 3.
- Dissociati civium animi, *de civili discordia,* 25. 2.
- Dissolutus sign. *neglectum legis, boni moris existimationisque,* 7. 1.
- Distineri litibus, *vexari ac distrahi,* 25. 9.
- Distrahi, *divelli, de pugnantibus et inter se com-*

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 Dux manùs, *qui parti co-
piarum præest*. 16. 4.
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- Effusæ largitiones, *immodice*, 25. 6.
- Elatius se gerere, *insolentius*, 4. 2.
- Elicere epistolas alicujus, *occasione suppeditata re-scribendi, scilicet* 25. 20.
- Elis. *Argiv. oppid* 7. 4.
- Eloquentia antistat inno-centiæ, *superat eam*, 3. 1.
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- Emax, *qui emendi studio ducitur*, 25. 13.
- Emittere exercitum in Asiam, *bellatum mittere*, 17. 2.
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- Ennius, *Q. Poëta*, 24. 1.
- Enumerare, *per seriem narrare*, 6. 2.
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- Ephebus factus est, *ad pu-ber-tatem venit*, 15. 2.
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- Erexit eum hæc contume-lia, *h. e. ad industriam et emendationem excita-vit*, 2. 1.
- Erichthon, *ignotus locus, fatentibus Lambin. et Schott. qui ex codicib. annot. Crithonem*, 13. 1.
- Eryx, *mons Siciliae*, 21. 1.
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- Esse civitatis alienæ, *de alicunde orto*, 13. 1. *esse partium optimatum, se-qui partes opt.* 25. 6. *esse pluris, plus efficere, præstare publico*, 15. 19. *non est tuæ virtutis, non convenit*, 22. 1. *esse ca-lamitati, inferre calami-*

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rere invidiam, 10. 4. *ma-*
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operâ consilioque, 9. 2.
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has partes, *in se susci-*
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clarus et formidabilis,
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est, *et instrumenta belli*
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F.

FABIUS, Q. Maximus dictator, Hannibali oppositus, 23. 5.

Facere audet quod cogitavit, *rem deliberatam efficere*, 14. 7. faciebat, ut numerarent, *curabat numerari*, 15. 3. bona de beneficiis præstitis, *aut facere quod utile est alteri*, 2. 9. cædem alicujus, *perpetrare*, 8. 3. castra, *ponere*, 1. 5. aliquem certiozem, *docere*, 14. 11. civem, *adsciscere*, 25. 3. impetum in aliquem, *adoriri*, 14. 9. insidias, *struere*, 7. 9. magnam multitudinem, *colligere exercitum*, 23. 10. summam, *scil. pecuniæ*, 15. 3. mentionem, *in sermone*, 7. 5. pecunias ex metallis, *reditus fodinarum metallicarum intellig.* 5. 1. aliquem missum, *dimittere ex captivitate* 18. 11. potestatem sui, *sc. ad fugnam*, 17. 3. progressum instudiis, *proficere*, 24. 2. reum, *accusare*, 7. 4. verba, *orationem habere*, 2. 10.

- facere aliquid pulchrè
posse, *de operâ promptè
obeundâ*, 25. 13. aliquem
pluris, *æstimandi signifi-
catione*, 11. 3. facere lu-
cri aliquid, *de gloriâ capi-
tâ, quæ alteri debebatur*,
8. 1. facere naufragium,
de clade navali, 2. 7.
- Face, *pro fac*, 4. 2.
- Fio, fit cædes civium, *cæ-
duntur*, 15. 10. sumptus
in classem, *impenditur*,
1. 7. fieri pluris, *æstima-
ri*, 14. 5. quid his fieri
vellet, *de his*, 17. 4.
- Factum est equitate ejus,
ut, *effectum, impetratum*,
res eò deducta, 3. 2. eo
facto, *per id, hâc ratione*,
15. 5. quo facto, *quâ
causâ, qua ex re*, 14. 5.
- Factio adversaria, *pro vi-
ris advers. fact. ἀντιπα-
ρῶμενοι*, 16. 1. sine facti-
one amicis officia præ-
standa, *intelligitur, offi-
cia amicitiae non extendi
ad societatem rer. nov.
factionem*, 25. 8.
- Facultas ita vivendi non da-
tur, *copia, potestas, oc-
casio*, 25. 2. facultates
ingenii, *opes*, 15. 1.
- Falernus ager, 25. 5.
- Fallere verbo, *falsi tituli
specie*, 15. 5. fefellit eum
hæc res, *contra opinio-
nem cecidit*, 10. 3.
- Fastigio pari stare in utrâ-
que fortuna, *fiar cultus
ac modus vitæ intelli-
gitur*, 25. 14.
- Fautrix, *de naturâ propi-
tiâ*, 17. 8.
- Ferocior, *bellicosior*, 2. 2.
ferocius loqui, *elatius*,
18. 11. ferocia, *animosa
elatio*, 22. 1.
- Ferre calamitatem mode-
ratè, *tolerare, sustinere*,
20. 4. æquo animo ferre,
*sine invidiâ, et emulati-
one*, 25. 1. ferre expen-
sum sumptui, *expensos
sumptus in commentari-
um referre*, 25. 13. si
tulisset ita fortuna, *si ita
accidisset*, 18. 6. ferre
suffragium, *sententiam
per calculos*, 15. 8. ferri
magno odio in aliquem,
*de studio animi, conten-
tione, affectu*, 25. 10.
- Ferrum, *pro gladio*, 14. 11.
*pro spiculo, quod hâstili
præfixum est*, 15. 9.
- Festum habere hunc diem,
*solennis instituta festivi-
tas intelligitur*, 20. 4.
- Fidere pecunia, *spem confi-
ciendi inde sumere*, 6. 3.
victoria, *fiduciam victo-
riæ habere tanquam cer-
tâ*, 12. 1.
- Fidenti animo, *ex successu
animositas intell.* 22. 3.
- Fides vix facta est, *vix*

- persuasit ut crederent*, 17. 8. fidei alicujus aliquid credere, *committere alicui quid tamquam homini bonâ fide, aut bonâ fide servandum*, 23. 9. dare, accipere fidem, *polliceri, et vicissim alterius pollicitis credere*, 14. 10.
- Fiducia nimia magnæ calamitati solet esse, *intell. securitas ex confidentiâ*, 16. 3. fiduciam habere rei potiundæ, *spes certa, et plusquam spes*, 17. 4.
- Figura venusta, *de totius corporis habitu congruo*, 18. 11.
- Filius à patre acceptam gloriam auxit, 13. 1. ejus recens gloria veterem patris renovat. 13. 2. *filio regnum à vivo patre non tradendum*, 21. 3.
- Fingere fortunam sibi, *conciliare*, 25. 11. *ingere se, effingere suos mores in rectitudinem officiorum vitæ, ibid.*
- Firmæ copix, *respectu peritix bellandi indurata bello manus*, 18. 3. firmæ vires ad laborem ferendum, *de eo qui invictus laboris et operis*, 18. 11.
- Firmissimi amici, *conjunctissimi*, 6. 2.
- Flaccus, *L. Valerius*, 24. 1.
- Flagitium, *de armis relictis*, 22. 1. *ac dedecore, ibid.*
- Flaminius, *C. Coss. occiditur*, 23. 4.
- Flaminius, *L. Quintus. Cos.* 23. 12.
- Flectere suum iter, *de aliâ viâ tentandâ*, 18. 9.
- Florere, *de potentiâ et excellentiâ imperii*, 18. 1. rebus quibusdam, *gestorum gloria*, 5. 3. *florens, adhuc vivens, superstes*, 25. 11.
- Fluctus civiles, *turbæ*, 25. 6.
- Forma imperatoria, *imperatore digna*, 11. 3.
- Fortuna, ut si in manu ejus esset fortuna, *ab ipso regeretur, ad arbitrium flecteretur*, 13. 3. fortuna secunda, *de successu*, 1. 2. fortuna virtuti par, *de bonâ fortunâ et felicitate*, 18. 1. fortuna, *de infelicitate, adversa fortuna*, 17. 5. non simplex, *utraq;* 20. 1. fortuna, *pro conditione, statu*, 7. 9. *conversa subito fortuna est, rerum status et vices*, 25. 10. fortunam suam occulere, *statui suo et cele-*

britati latebras quærere,
tum formæ tum securita-
tis, 7. 9.
 Forum, in foro esse cœpit,
fori studiis et civilis ac-
tus rudimentis operam
dare, 24. 1.
 Frangi cura rerum, *angi*
vehementer, 10. 7.
 Fregellæ, *opp. Lat. 23. 7.*
 Frugi aliquo, *convictu ali-*
cujus, 25. 20.
 Fructus, fructum pietatis
ferre, præmium, 25. 5.
 Frustrari se ipsum, *nocen-*
di signif. 23. 2.
 Fugam alicujus sublevare,
de expulso et hoste indi-
cato, 25. 2.
 Fugare, *vincere, 15. 5.*
 Fugere *procuracionem*
reip. abstinere eâ, 25. 15.
non fugit me, satis in-
telligo, 10. 2.
 Fulget indoles virtutis in
eo, explendescit, 18. 1.
 Fulvia uxor Antonii, 25.
 9.
 Funesta victoria, *detestan-*
da, 15. 10.
 Fungi munus militare, 14.
 1. *functus summis hono-*
ribus, qui magnis rebus
præfuit, multum in impe-
riis magistratibusque,
versatus est, 2. 7.
 Funus nullius ex suis vi-
dit, de morte, 21. 2.
 Furius, *L. Cos. 23. 7.*

G.

GALEA venatoria, 14. 3.
 Gellius, *Q. Canius, 25. 10.*
 Geminus, *Cn. Servilius,*
 23. 4.
 Genus antiquum, 14. 2. *pro*
gente, natione, 21. 2.
 Generatus ab origine, *ori-*
undus, 25. 1.
 Generosus, *de nobili fami-*
liâ dicitur, 2. 1. genero-
sa fama eorum, fama ex
majoribus generosis, 10.
 1. *generosi condiscipu-*
li, animo erecto excelso-
que præditi, 25. 1.
 Gerere, *pro administrare,*
 24. 2. *gerere res mag-*
nas, efficere, 22. 3. rem
malè uti adversâ fortu-
nâ, 1. 3.
 Geri, *effici, 4. 2. gerere a-*
micitiâ, exercere, 14.
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 Gladii minuti, *breviores,*
 11. 1.
 Globus consensionis, *nu-*
merus conspiratorum,
factio, cohors, 25. 8.
 Gloria belli, *bello gesto*
parta, 4. 5.
 Golonæ, *pl. locus agri Tro-*
adis, 4. 3.
 Gongylus Eretriensis, 4.
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 Gortynii, *Gortyna urbs*
Cretæ, 23. 9.
 Gracchus, *T. Sempronius,*

insidiis perit, 23. 5.
 Gradus, *sc. honoris et amicitiae*, 18. 1. imperii secundus, *proxima à rege dignitas*, 9. 3.
 Græcæ literæ, *de linguâ Græcâ*, 23. 13.
 Græci libri Hannibalis, *ibid.*
 Græcia, *pro incolis Græcis*, 15. 5.
 Graius saltus, 23. 3.
 Gravitas Lacedæmoniorum, *in suspendendâ, dum res penitissimè exploraretur fide*, 4. 4.
 Grunium in Phrygiâ castrum, 7. 9.
 Gymnasium Timoleontium, 20. 4.
 Gynæconitis, *præf.*

H.

HABERE, quemadm. se habere, *ut valetudo ejus comparata esset*, 10. 2. ut haberet, quò fugeret ad salutem, *h. e. locum, quo fug.* 9. 10. habere amorem alicujus magnum, *amari*, 20. 3. contentionem cum aliquo, *disceptare*, 17. 1. aliquem secum, *convictum notat*, 25. 4. quæstionem de, *intellig. cognitio judicialis*, 7. 4. aliquem ad ma-

num, *uti alicujus ministerio*, 18. 1.
 Haberi numero sapientium, *reputari*, 8. 4. malè, *vexari, detrimentis multis affici*, 18. 12.
 Haliartus, *urbs Boeotia*, 6. 3.
 Halicarnassia civis, 2. 1.
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 Hasdrubal malè audit ex contubernio Hamilcaris, 22. 3.
 Hastæ brevis modus duplicatus, 11. 1.
 Hastie, 15. 9.
 Hellespontus, 4. 2.
 Helotes, *servi Lacedæmoniorum*, 4. 3.
 Helvius, C. 24. 1.
 Hemerodromi Græc. *q. d. Cursores diarii*, 1. 4.
 Hephæstio magni æstimatur, 18. 2.
 Heraclides interficitur, 10. 6.
 Hercules Graius, 23. 3.
 Herculis progenies, 17. 1.
 Hermes Andocidis, 7. 3.
 Hetærice, *ita vocabatur honoris causa ala equitum apud Macedonas, ab amicitia et veluti sodalitate regia*, 18. 1.
 Hibernacula, *pro libernis, aliàs pro ipsis tentoriis sumuntur, sive pro pelli-*

*bus, sub quibus antiqui-
tūs milites hiemabant,*
17. 3.
Hiems, *pro tempestate,*
25. 10.
Hierophantes, *genus sacer-
dotii Atheniensis,* 16. 3.
Hilaritas, *voluptas animi,*
15. 8.
Hipparinus, 10. 1.
Hippo, *urbs African.* 22. 2.
Hipponicus, 7. 2.
Hirta tunica, *hirsuta, his-
pida,* 14. 3.
Hispania citerior, 24. 2.
Histaspes Darii pater,
21. 1.
Homerus, 14. 2.
Honor regni, *pro ipsa reg-
no,* 17. 1.
Honoribus operam dare,
*accedere ad honores et
remph. capessere,* 24. 1.
*honorificentius, honora-
tius,* 18. 1.
Hortari milites, *pro alio fir-
mare,* 1. 6.
Hortensius, 25. 5.
Hospitio alicujus contine-
ri, *esse inter hospites,*
6. 1.
Humilis vestitus, *vilior,* 17.
8.

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JAM tunc, 13. 3.
Jason Tyrannus, 13. 4.
Icetas vincitur, 20. 2.

Ignorare aliquem, *non nos-
se,* 3. 1. *ignorare nolui
te ista, docere volui,* 25.
21.

Illudere quem, *callidè in-
vento fallere,* 23. 10.

Illustris adolescens, *gene-
ris respectu,* 22. 3. *illus-
tre est ei maximè, in-
signe ad fumam,* 21. 1.
*illustrissimum prælium,
celeberrimum,* 4. 1.

Illustrari, *ad famæ celebri-
tatem pervenire,* 2. 1.

Imago consuetudinis, *vite
descriptio,* 15. 1.

Imitari consuetudinem
gentis, *moribus ejus vi-
vere,* 7. 11.

Imminere, *moliri oppres-
sionem,* 18. 10.

Imminuere animi magni-
tudinem, *minùs quam
frangere,* 18. 5.

Immoderatâ licentiâ, *vulgi
scil. libertatem suam in-
temperanter habentis, et
in licentiam vertentis,* 7.
4.

Immodestia, *licentiæ mili-
taris, et dedignatio pa-
rendi,* 6. 1.

Immortalis pugna dicitur,
*cujus memoria est per-
petua,* 15. 10.

Impedimenta, *scil. milita-
ria, ut sarcinæ, instru-
menta, vehicula. &c.* 8.
2.

- Impelli auctoritate alicujus, moveri, 1. 5.
- Impendere, imminere, de mox futuris, 18. 10.
- Imperare, summam belli administrare, 14. 5.
- Imperium majus, de prolatiis finibus, 1. 6. imperii summam tenere, imperare urbi, præesse cum perpetuo imperio, 1. 3. non magis imperio, quam justitiâ, non tam potestate jurisdictionis, quam æquitate administrationis.
- Imperium, militaris præfectura, 3. 2. abrogare, scil. ducibus, 15. 7.
- Impetus, repentina oppressio, 7. 8. hostium, incursum, 12. 1. impetum facere, impressionem, 17. 3.
- Implicitus magnis rebus, ex difficultate coeptorum in varias emergendi angustias conjectus, 4. 4.
- Impotens dominatio, intemperantis imperii insolentia et abusus potestatis notatur, 6. 1.
- Imprudens, inscius, 6. 4. imprudentem hostem opprimere, inopinantem, 18. 8.
- Impugnare prior voluit, de singulis qui alteri ictum inferre priores conantur, 8. 2. impugnare aliquem, adversus aliquem pugnare, 15. 10.
- Incensus, irritatus, infestus, 18. 10.
- Inceptum, propositum, 10. 8.
- Incestus Oedipi, 15. 6.
- Inclinatæ sunt copiae, fugam spectant, 16. 5.
- Incurrentes, qui in hostem impetum faciunt, 12. 1.
- Index, qui rem defert, 4. 4.
- Indicium, narratio, manifestatio, 4. 4. indicio sunt ei rei, pro ejus rei indicium, 25. 16.
- Indicare se, se ipsum prodere, 4. 4.
- Indidem Thebis, 15. 5.
- Indigere alienarum opum, de exule, 23. 1.
- Indigna, iniqua, miseranda, 19. 4.
- Inducere in insidias, pellere, 23. 5. ad bellum, permovere, 23. 8. Plato inducit Socratem, personam alicui tribuere, actionis aut sermonis gratiâ, 7. 2. induci ad credendum, adduci, 9. 3.
- Indulgere alicui, favoris honorisque respectu, quem exhibemus viro bene merenti, 10. 2. indulgere, de creditoribus

- solutionem debiti non urgentibus*, 25. 2. *indulgere, de dissolutâ educatione*, 10. 4. *dolori, ejus impetum sequi, obsequi dolori*, 21. 1. *sibi, licentiæ*, 6. 1. *sibi liberaliter, splendidiùs vivere*, 12. 3.
- Industria summa, de studio actus civilis et officiorum vitæ*, 2. 1.
- Infamis per flagitia*, 15. 10.
- Infamatus, à plerisque, vituperatus*, 7. 11.
- Infectis rebus, non effectis*, 1. 7.
- Inferior copiis, sic superior, de majore et minore numero*, 14. 8.
- Inferre bellum in Italiam, bello Italiam petere, vel eam sedem bello legere*, 22. 3. *inferre signa, in hostem ire*, 14. 6. *mala in domum alicujus, vexare, detrimentis afficere domum*, 2. 9. *inferri eo, dicitur corpus mortui, sepeliendum scilicet*, 4. 5.
- Infestus Romanis animus, de hostili odio*, 22. 3.
- Inficias ire aliquid, negare*, 15. 10.
- Infirmus, scil. viribus armorum*, 18. 3. *infirmisimi, scil. potentiâ*, 2. 6.
- Infodere, de sepulturâ*, 4. 5.
- Ingratiis, vellent nollent*, 2. 4.
- Injicere admirationem sui excitare*, 11. 3. *non amplius quàm pellis est injecta, de strati tegumento*, 17. 8.
- Inimica patriæ consilia, seditiosæ molitiones*, 4. 3. *inimicissimum suum, vocant Romani Hannibalem*, 23. 12.
- Inire consilia, de proposito, et molitionibus seditiosis*, 6. 3. *inire gratiam ab aliquo, mereri apud aliquem*, 7. 9. *talem rationem ad interfic. capere tale consilium*, 23. 10.
- Iniens adolescentia, incipiens prima*, 2. 1.
- Initium tenue, occasione tenuis rei oblat.* 16. 2.
- Inopinatæ res, felicitas superior*, 10. 6.
- Insciente, inscio*, 18. *inscientia belli, imperitia*, 15. 7.
- Insequi, vexare*, 25. 9.
- Inservire studiis gentis, imitari mores et consuetudinem*, 7. 11.
- Insolens quid, de elato sermone*, 20. 4.
- Instare hosti audaciùs, urgerè*, 15. 9.
- Instat tempus proficiscendi, adest*, 7. 4. *instans periculum, imminens*,

- impedens*, 4. 3.
- Institutum vitæ, ratio, consuetudo, 25. 7. instituta patriæ, respectu habito ad formam reip. 17. 4.
- Insuetus malè audiendi, de eo, qui sinistrè de se opinantes ægrè fert, 10. 7.
- Insula Scyrus, 5. 2. Lemnus, 1. 1. Cyclades, 1. 2.
- Intemperantia, licentia militaris, 18. 8.
- Inter, obtrectârunt inter se, pro invicem, 3. 1.
- Intercedit cupiditas major, scil. intervenit consiliis melioribus. 10. 1. intercessit nullus temere dies, ferme singulis diebus, 25. 20.
- Interdici non potest socero gener, contubernium et convictus generi, 22. 3.
- Interesse rebus privatis, publicis, plusquam nudam præsentiam notat, 20. 4.
- Interfectus exercitus host. deletus occidione, 3. 2.
- Interit pecunia, prodigitur, 2. 2.
- Internecio, ad internecionem gesta bella, ad partitis aut partium interitum, 18. 3.
- Interponere, de iudicio sententiâque scriptioni insertâ, 16. 3.
- Interponere se, ope suâ intervenire, facultatem rei conciliare, pecuniâ mutua juvare, 25. 2.
- Interpretari, rationem reddere, 25. 3.
- Intueri, animadvertere, 12. 1.
- Invehi multa in aliquem, alicujus exagitandi ergô probra spargere, 15. 6.
- Inventum, consilium, ars, stratagema, 12. 1.
- Invidere aliquid, pro ob aliquid, 8. 4.
- Invidus potentiæ populus, qui ob potentiam invidet, 15. 3.
- Invidia non opprimitur acerbitate, sed tenetur obsequio, 10. 6. invidiæ crimen, ex invidiâ impositum, 7. 4. invidia minore esse, minùs sentire invidiam, minùs fieri invidiâ, 18. 7.
- Iones, 1. 4.
- Ionia, 1. 3.
- Iphicrates, 11. 1. Iphicratenses milites, pro præstantibus, 11. 2.
- Ire, cum exercitu scil. 17. 3.
- Is, non sum is, qui, non ejusmodi homo, vel tali animo præditus, 17. 57.
- Ismenias captus, 16. 5.
- Ister, fluv. 1. 3.
- Istius Milesius, ibid.
- Judicare aliquem exulem,

- judicio exilium decernere*, 23. 7.
- Judicandum est utilitate, *secundum utilitatem*, 25. 13.
- Judicium capitis, *cùm quis accusatur capitis*, 15. 9. *judicium fit de hoc, habetur*, 19. 3.
- Julii divi filius, 25. 19.
- Jumentum, *de equis*, 18. 5.
- Jupiter Ammon, 6. 3. *Feretrius*. 25. 20. *Opt. Max.* 23. 2. *Jovis antistites*, 6. 3.
- Jus, *jure suo, meritò*, 8. 1. *jura patriæ, hospitii, respectu obligationis, quibus patriæ aut hospiti obligamur*, 13. 4.
- Jussu populi, *formula democratica, ibid.*
- Justitia, *pro æquitate civilis animi, ac ἰσότης*, 3. 2.
- Justus, *cognomen*, 3. 1.
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- KALENDÆ Aprilis, 25. 22.
- Karthaginienses à Lutatio vincuntur, 22. 1.
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- LABEO, *Q. Fab. Cos.* 23. 13.
- Labor animi, *contentio*, 7. 1. *labore quærere de hæc re, annitor, studeo*, 16. 3.
- Lacedæmonii Græciæ domini, 9. 4.
- Laco, *pro Agesilæo*, 13. 1.
- Lacon, *pro Lysandro*, 7. 10.
- Laconica, *scil. regio*, 13. 2.
- Lacrymare casum alicujus, *illacrymare alicui*, 7. 6.
- Lamachus, 7. 3.
- Lamestius, 20. 5.
- Lamprus, *Musicus*, 15. 2.
- Lampsacum, *urbs*, 2. 10.
- Lapis, *de milliari*, 25. 22.
- Largitiones effusæ, *ferè in malam partem usurpatur hæc vox, de iis quæ ambitus causâ donantur*, 25. 6.
- Latere, *occultam esse, ignorari*, 17. 6.
- Laus liberandarum Thebarum, *gloria ex commendatione liberationis ejus*, 16. 4. *rei militaris, fama rebus bello gestis parta*, 1. 8. *victoriæ illa est, in eo fit laudabilis*, 17. 4. *in summâ laude esse, laudari*, 11. 2.
- Lautè vivere, *splendidè, liberaliùs sibi indulgere*, 12. 3.
- Laxare vincula epistolæ, 4. 4.

- Lectoris satietas et ignorantia, *quarum hæc ex nimia brevitate, illa ex multitudine*, 16. 1.
- Legationem suscipere, *obeam in se recipere*, 2. 6. legationes, *pro ipsis legatis*, 15. 6.
- Lemnus non vult se dedere, 1. 1.
- Lenire, invidiam, *mitigare*, 10. 6.
- Leonidas Rex Lacedæm. 2. 3.
- Leonnatus, 18. 2.
- Leotychides, 17. 1.
- Levare inopiam, *sublevare, subvenire*, 25. 2.
- Leucosyri, *qui nunc Capadoces*, 14. 1.
- Leuctra, *vicus Bæot.* 17. 6.
- Levis armatura, *pro militibus levis armaturæ*, 14. 8. levis, *expeditus*, 11. 1. levis non liberalis, *qui plura promittit quàm præstat, non tam facilitate officii, quam temeritate lingue; leviora sunt mihi, apud me, duco leviora*, 15. 1.
- Libenter detrahunt de iis, *vitium animi ad detrahend. proni notatur*, 12. 3.
- Liberalitas temporaria, *calidula, quæ temporis et spei causâ fit*, 25. 11.
- liberaliter pollicere, *prolixè*, 6. 4.
- Libertatis species, *pars, indicium*, 20. 5.
- Librarii, *servi, quorum operâ in exscribendis et curandis libris veteres utebantur*, 25. 13.
- Ligna mœnia, *enigmaticè de navibus*, 2. 2.
- Ligures. 23. 4.
- Literis coli ab antiquo, *de familiaritate epistolaris commercii*, 25. 20.
- Literæ, *pro studiis*, 23. 13. literæ Græcæ, *pro linguâ*, ibid.
- Locus non æquus, *iniquus, incommodus*, 1. 5. locus *pro occasione*, 22. 1.
- Longum est enumerare prælia, *formula est præcisionis*, 23. 5.
- Longus. *Tib.* 23. 4.
- Loqui, *ferre rumoribus*, 22. 3.
- Lucani, *pro regione Lucan.* 23. 5.
- Lucretius, 25. 12.
- L. Lucullus, 25. 5.
- Lumina oculorum, *pro oculis*, 20. 4.
- Lutatius, C. fud. Karthagin. 22. 1.
- Lycus, *Pater Thrasybuli*, 8. 1.
- Lyco, *Syracusanus*. 10. 9.
- Lydi, 14. 8.
- Lydia, 9. 2.

Lysander Lacedæm. 6. 1.
Lysimachus, 3. 1.

Lysis Tarentinus, 15. 2.

LLS. 25. 4. *Sestertium anti-*
qui his modis exprime-
bant, IIS. HS. LLS. du-
arum librarum et semis-
sis caractere, superpo-
sita lineola, millenarii
index, sestertium in neu-
tro signif. Vid. Budæum
et Glarean.

M.

MACROCHIR (*Longi-*
manus) Artaxerxes, 21.
1.

Magistratus, *imperium,*
prætura belli, 1. 8.

Magnesia, *urbs As. apud*
Meandrum fl. 2. 10.

Majores res appetere, *de*
ambitiosis novisque con-
siliis, 4. 2.

Malefica natura, 17. 8.
nancisci naturam male-
ficam in corpore, *nihil*
aliud, quam in corpore
naturæ aliquem errorem
ac deformitatem præ-
ferre.

Malum externum, *bellum*
cum ext. gest. 22. 2.

Malitiosè facere, *cum*
quis culpâ suâ et de in-
dustriâ rem male gerit,
7. 7.

Mamercus Italicus capi-
tur, 20. 2.

Mago frater Hannibalis,
23. 7.

Manceps, *qui a populo ali-*
quid emit conductive,
ejus rei quoniam sublatâ
manu indicium fuit se-
que auctorem profitetur,
manceps, dicitur. vid.
Sigon. 25. 6.

Manere, *expectare hostem,*
2. 4. *in officio obsequii*
sc. et fidei, 9. 3.

Manere, *ratum esse*, 7. 10.

Manubiæ, *prædam sive pe-*
cuniam ex præda redac-
tam intelligit, 5. 2.

Manus, *ad manum habere,*
ministerio alicujus uti,
18. 1.

Manus, *exercitus et copiæ,*
1. 5. *manum conserere,*
aciæ contendere, 14. 8.
manum dare, victorum
est et succumbentium,
22. 1.

Marathon, *campus*, 1. 4.

Marathonia pugnâ, 2. 2.

Marathonium trophæum,
pugna, seu pugna gloriæ,
2. 5.

Marcellus, *M. Claud. Cos.*
23. 13.

Mardonius quis, 4. 1.

Marius hostis judicatus,
25. 2.

Massagetæ, 21. 1.

Mater patri prælata, 11. 3.

- filiî pœnam promovet, 4. 5.
- Media, 18. 8.
- Mederi satietati lectoris, *ne satietate obtundatur, cavere*, 16. 1.
- Medimnus (*et medimnum*) *Græcorum mensura, Romanos sex modios capiens*, 25. 2.
- Meditari animo, *constituere apud se*, 17. 4.
- Mel cadaveribus circumfusum, *conservabat ea a putredine*, 17. 8.
- Memor gratusque, *quodam sententiæ genere juncta*, 25. 9. *memor virtutem pristinarum, non tam memoria, quam memoriæ efficacia, et instinctio ad aliquid notatur*, 23. 12.
- Meneclides, 15. 5.
- Menelai portus, 17. 8.
- Menestheus, *filius Iphior*, 11. 3.
- Mens, *propositum, consilium*, 16. 1.
- Mensa secunda, 17. 8.
- Mentio, *de totâ expositione viæ*, 15. 4.
- Mercenarii scribæ, *non sine notâ vilis animi, et operæ hæc vox honestis et industriis viris, qui fidem potius quam lucrum spectant, majorumque rerum actores sunt, opponitur*, 18. 1.
- Merere stipendium *militare*, 24. 12.
- Messena constituta, 15. 8.
- Micythus, 15. 4.
- Miltiades, 1. 1.
- Minervæ ædes, 4. 5.
- Minus diebus, *minus quam diebus*, 2. 5.
- M. Minutius Rufus, M. E. 23. 5. Q. Minutius Cos. 23. 8.
- Mira comitas, *magna*, 1. 8.
- Mirabilis cupiditas, *vehemens, ingens*, 1. 5.
- Miscere plurima cupit, *de seditiosis, et turbulentis seditionibus*, 4. 1.
- Mithridates Ariobarzanis fil. 14. 4.
- Mithrobarzanes, 14. 6.
- Mitylænæi quid Pittacæ donârint, 8. 4.
- Mnemon Artaxerxes justitiæ famâ florens, 21. 1.
- Mobilis, *populus inconstans*, 13. 3.
- Mocilla, *L. Julius prætor*, 25. 11.
- Moderata vita, *civilitatis respectu*, 13. 4.
- Moliri, *de conatu rei magnæ*, 7. 10.
- Molossi, 2. 8.
- Momenti nullius esse, *auctoritate scil. amissa*, 7. 8.
- Monumentum, *sepulchrum*, 25. 22. *monumenta, indicia rei memoriam con-*

- servantia*, 2. 10. *dicuntur a monendo*.
- Mos, *ad morem majorum, h. e. instituta inde à majoribus propagata*, 5. 1. *mores civitatis, consuetudines, instituta*, 25. 6.
- Mos *crudelitatis, ipsam crudelitatis usurpationem exprimit*, 8. 3.
- Morem gerere, *obedire*, 14. 4.
- Morum praefectus, 22. 3.
- Movere se, *scil. ex pristina habitatione*, 18. 6. *movere, persuadere*, 2. 4. *moveri auctoritate cujus, scil. ad fidem habendam*, 9. 4. *moveri quæ possunt, vulgo mobilia bona*, 2. 2.
- Motus concursusque, *præstantium, sc. bellantiumque*, 11. 1.
- Mulctari, *læx mulctat more, mortis poenam constituit*, 15. 7.
- Multitudo, *populus*, 7. 3.
- Munire itinera, *vias faciendo, itineri assistere, ac excurrere*, 23. 3. *muntiones, opera obsidentium*, 18. 5.
- Muri lignei quo commento instructi, 2. 2.
- Mutare arma, *alia invenire*, 11. 1.
- Mutina, 25. 9.
- Mycale, *urbs Cariae*, 5. 2.
- Mysteria facere, *Cereris sacra arcana*, 7. 3. *alio nomine Initia vide Justin.* 5. 1.
- Mynus, *urbs Asiae*, 2. 10.
- N.
- NANCISCI causam idoneam, *sc. opportunè, commode oblatam, captamve*, 2. 6. *hostes navalem nacti diem, scil. tempestatem ejus diei in consilium verterunt, suo usui accommodârunt*.
- Natu magno, *substantive, ætatis notione*, 4. 5.
- Natura experta in hoc quid efficere possit, *celebrata certatim studiis imitantium inventio, magni ingenii index, significat autem hic Natura grandius, tanquam effectrix rerum, &c.* 7. 1. *naturæ debitum reddere, mori* 21. 1. *neque id natura solùm fecit, naturali ingenii propensione*, 25. 17. *natura civitatum eadem, translata consuetudo*, 1. 6.
- Naturale bonum, *naturalis quædam gratia apud omnes obtinenda felicitas*, 8. 1.
- Naves onerariæ, *serviebant commatui transvehendo*, 2. 2.

- Naxus *insula*, 2. 8.
 Ne, *pro an*, verum falsum-
 ne, 14. 9.
 Necessarius homo, *signif.*
propinquitatis, de socero,
 14. 6.
 Necessitas, *de urgente ca-*
lamitate, 2. 8.
 Necessitudo, *affinitas*, 10.
 1. necessitudo sortis, *col-*
legarum sorte lectorum
consensio, et *vinculum*
conjunctioque notatur,
 24. 1.
 Nectanebes, *rex Ægypti*,
 17. 8.
 Negotium suscipere, *de re*
mandata efficienda, 25.
 15.
 Neocles, 2. 1.
 Neoptolemus cadit, 18. 4.
 Nepos Corn. *laudat librum*
suum de Historicis, 10. 3.
 Neptuni fanum, *ἄσολον*, 4. 4.
 Nero, C. Claudius, 24. 1.
 Nescio quo modo, *formula*
frequens, *ἀπορητικὴ*, 7.
 11. quod nescio an ulli,
h. e. quod scio nulli con-
tigisse, 20. 1.
In neutram partem, neque
hoc neque illo respectu,
 25. 13.
 Nicanor Cassandri præfec-
 tus Piræo potitur, 19. 2.
 Nicias, 7. 3.
 Nilus flumen, 18. 5.
 Nitor recuperare, *laboro*,
 16. 2.
 Nixus in cubitum, *erigen-*
tis se habitum notat, 25.
 21.
 Nitida jumenta, *pinguia*,
non strigosa, 18. 5.
 Nobiles *populo et civitati-*
bus Democraticis invisi,
 7. 4.
 Nocere supplicibus, *dici-*
tur de illata poenâ dam-
nove, 17. 4.
 Nomen, *pro fama*, 1. 8.
 nomen Romanum, *cum*
granditate quâdam, *pro*
populo, 23. 7. nomen, *ti-*
tulus sine re, 15. 5. n
 minatim, præcipuè, *ex*
presso nomine, 1. 1.
 Nora, *castellum Phrygi-*
 18. 5.
 Notare loca, *signo et obse-*
ratione, 14. 11. nota
 res sine nomine, *exprin-*
scrib. 24. 3. notari, *ann*
tari, præscribi, 25. 18.
 Nota virtus, *cum laude in*
signis pariter ac pe
specta, 5. 3.
 Notitia, ob notitiam intru-
 missi, *tanquam noti*, 10.
 9.
 Nova res, *insolita*, 14. 6.
 Novum consilium, *nova*
ars, eleganter dicuntur
significatione inventâ
tam solertis, quam ne-
cessari, 18. 8.
 Novissimo tempore, *ex-*
tremo, 18. 1.

Nubere alicui, *fæminarum est*, 5. 1.

Nudare vagina telum, *distringere*, 14. 11.

Numen Deorum, *notat hic auspicium, curam*, 17. 2.

Numentanum prædium, 25. 14.

Numerus decemplex, 1. 5.
in hoc numero fuit, *alias in eis, inter eos*, 1. 3.
numero copiarum fretus, *multitudine*, 1. 5.

Numidæ frustra insidian-
tur Hannibali, 23. 6.

Nutu ejus gerunt omnia,
h. e. arbitrio, placito, 6. 2.

Nysæus, 10. 1.

O.

OBDUCTA nocte, *obscura minimeque serenâ*, 23. 5.

Objicere se hosti, *de eo qui oppositus hosti*, 23. 5.

Obire legationes, *suscipere, mitti, legatum agere*, 10. 1.

Obniti, obnixo genu scuto,
h. e. obnixo in scutum, obfirmato genu ad scutum, 12. 1.

Obruere gladios, *infodere*, 14. 11.

Obsequi studiis suis, *iis cum studio et pportunitate inservire*, 25. 2.

Obsequium, *comitas*, 10. 5.

Obses retentus, *legationis missæ causâ*, 2. 7. obsidem rei esse, *obligare fidem suam hoc futurum, vel non futurum esse*, 19. 2.

Obsideri, *urbs dicitur, cujus arx, sc. jam est occupata*, 16. 1. obsideri undique, *cum exitus omnes custoditi sunt*, 23. 12.

Obsistere, *objicere se*, 17. 4.

Obsoletus honor, *glorioso ophponitur, spretus*, 1. 6.

Obstare consiliis cujus, *propositum intervertere*, 10. 9.

Obstinatio taciturna, *obstinatio propositi taciturnitate ostensa, significata*, 25. 22.

Obterere laudem virtutis, *includit significatum contemptus ac suffresionis*, 20. 1.

Obtigit ille quæstor Scipioni, *ita sæpe Romani auctores de magistratibus sorte datis*, 24. 1.

Obtinere locum eundem, *idem officium gerere*, 18. 13.

Obtrectare inter se, *sc. non æmulari tantum, sed adversari sibi mutuo*, 3. 1.

Occasione datâ, 22. 1.

- Occasus, *mors*, 18. 13.
- Octavius Cæsar Atticum familiariter per epistolas colit, 25. 20.
- Oculorum lumina, *oculi*, 20. 4.
- Odium civitatis, *in civitatem*, 13. 3. odium ejus in hoc viro tantum est, *adversus hunc virum*, 19. 4.
- Oedipus parricida et incestuosus, 15. 6.
- Offendere, *absolutè, offensionem incurrere*, 19. 2. offensa voluntas in quem, *infensa, infesta*, 10. 7.
- Offendere quem imparatum, *defrehendere*, 17. 2.
- Offerre se periculo, *audere rem periculosam*, 16. 2.
- Officia præstare alicui, *tantumquam civis civibus et magistratui, cum notâ obsequii erga imper.* 1. 2. urbana, *scil. solemnibus negotiis in urbe præstari solita*, 25. 4.
- Officio tribuere aliquid, *honesti rectique studio facere*, 25. 6.
- Officium, *de obsequio imperantibus debito*, 1. 7.
- Oleaginæ virgulæ, *et ex his corona*, 8. 4. victoriæ symbolo oblata, *Nam à ludis Olympiis ad seria transferri ejusmodi res usitatum et elegans.*
- Olympias, mater Alexandri, Eumenis consilium, mox et auxilium imporat, 18. 6.
- Olympiæ victor, *præf.*
- Olympiodorus, *tibicen*, 15. 2.
- Olynthus, *urbs Thraciæ*, 16. 1.
- Onomarchus, *custodum præfectus*, 18. 11.
- Onustus prædâ, *copiam dicit et ubertatem*, 7. 5.
- Opera, *officiosa scil. in iis, quæ amicis aliisque præstamus*, 5. 4. operâ ejus acciderunt res adversæ, *culpâ*, 7. 6.
- Operire, *obtegere*, 23. 9.
- Opes, *pro potentiâ*, 15. 6. opes magnas prosternere, *magnam vim hostium ac numerum. add. quæ potentiæ hostilis partem non minimam*, 1. 5.
- Opes alienæ, *potentia, factrocinium*, 23. 1.
- Opinio, *de quo quanta fuerit opinio eorum, quid judicarin.* 18. 13.
- Opulentes, 12. 3.
- Opus, *opera, munitiones*, 1. 7.
- Ora Asiæ, *extremitas*, 7. 5.
- Ordinatæ copiæ, *quæ in acie stant*, 11. 2.
- Ordiri reliquos, *vitam re-*

- liquorum exponere*, 7. 11. -
- Ordo equestris, *dignitas ordinis equestris*, 25. 19. ordo, *locus in agmine*, 14. 9.
- Orestes matricida, 15. 6.
- Origines Catonis, 24. 3.
- Ornamentum habere ab aliquo, *honores et opes intelliguntur*, 25. 7.
- Ornatus elephantus, *instructus ad pugnam*, 23. 3.
- Orote, *interpositum sermoni, ut alias, quæso, amabo*, 25. 4.
- Ostendere, *præ se ferre, causam allegare*, 10. 4. renunciare, 23. 12.
- Ostracismus, 5. 3.
- Otium, *de statu et facie pacis*, 22. 2.
- P.
- PACTIO, *induciarum scil. juramento sancita*, 17. 2.
- Padus, *fluv.* 23. 4.
- Palæstra, *quomodo utendum*, 15. 2.
- Palæstræ vocantur, *quæ alias Gymnasia*.
- Pamphylium mare, 23. 8.
- Pandates, 14. 5.
- Paphlago, *firo Thyo*, 14. 2.
- Pani præbendo urbs destinata, *more Persarum*, 2. 10.
- Pari prælio discedere, *æquis manibus, neutro victo, aut victore*, 2. 3.
- Par alicui, *scil. armis*, 18. 8. par non est, *æquum*, 14. 6.
- Parare bellum, *moliri, adornare in aliquem*, 23. 2.
- Parare copias, *comparare*, 14. 10. parat proficisci, *constituit*, 14. 4.
- Parare diligentiam, *pretio, acquirere*, 25. 13.
- Parcere, quibus fortuna percerat, *quos fecerat superstites*, 8. 1.
- Parere naturæ, *ejus ductum sequi*, 25. 17.
- Parare sibi amicitiam cum, *comparare*, 7. 7.
- Parma, *scutum breve, pelta tamen majus*, 11. 1.
- Parricidarum exempla, 15. 6.
- Pars illa, *factio*, 25. 8. pars mea nulla erit in hoc, *mihi nihil tribuetur, adscribetur*, 7. 8.
- Parus insula oppugnata, 1. 7.
- Passus, 1. 4. *His veteres metiebantur suos lapides et milliaria. Faciunt autem 1000 passus, unum lapidem Ital. 4000 passus, unum miliare Germanicum*.
- Paterna provincia, *cujus præfectus pater fuit*, 14. 1.

- Patientia apud Lacedæmones, *summa laus dicitur*, 7. 11.
 Patriâ carere, *de exule*, 16. 1.
 Patrimonium, *possessiones*, 25. 12.
 Patroclus, 14. 2.
 Paulus, *L. Æmilius Cos.* 23. 13.
 Paupertas Aristidis, 3. 3.
 Pausanias, 4. 1. Philippi *percussor*, 21. 2.
 Pax non fida, *mala fide petita*, 18. 4. *pacis vocabulo sæpe servitus tegitur*, 15. 5.
 Pecunia publica, *de redditibus*, 2. 2.
 Pellere patriâ, *in exilium*, 3. 1. *adversarios, fugare*, 23. 11.
 Pellicere aliquem, *sc. in suas partes*, 18. 1.
 Pelopidas Theban. 16. 1.
 Peloponnesus, 10. 10.
 Pelta, *scutum parvâ brevius*, 11. 1.
 Penates, *diî domestici*, 2. 7.
 Pendere alicui pecuniam ex fœdere, *numerare*, 23. 7. *pendebant veteres monetas quas nunc numeramus; inde tot vocabula ponderum in re monetariâ mansere.*
 Per se, si per se virtus ponderanda sit, *sine adscitio rerum externarum pretio, sola*, 8. 1. *per suos, veniâ et concessu suorum*, 18. 10. *neque per senatum efficere potuit, propter Senatum, Senatu obstante*, 24. 2.
 Peræque, 25. 13.
 Peragere propositum, *pertere*, 25. 22.
 Peragrarare, *de exercitu*, 18. 8.
 Percussa est potentia, *convulsa*, 16. 2.
 Perdiccas, *Amyntæ et Euridices filius*, 11. 3. *inter amicos Alexandræ*, 18. 2.
 Peregrinatio, *aliàs demigratio*, 25. 2.
 Perfuga, *transfuga*, 14. 6.
 Pericle, 7. 2.
 Pericula, *labores belli, pugnae, prælia*, 16. 4.
 Perinthus, *urbs Thraciæ*, 7. 7.
 Pernicies, *ad perniciem alicujus cogitatum, pro morte, interitu, exitu*, 14. 6.
 Perorare de, *causam dicere*, 19. 4.
 Perpetua vita, *tota*, 24. 1. *oratio, continua*, 15. 5.
 Persequi, *scil. narratione*, 24. 2.
 Persequi aliquem, *conari è medio tollere*, 7. 10.
 Perseverare, *de constantia conficiendi belli*, 14. 2.

- Persona, *significanter pro-
viro, cui administrationes
publicæ innituntur*, 16. 4.
 Pertinacia, *non recedentis,
scil. a sententiâ*, 22. 1.
 Pertinere, *pertinet ad
remp. respicit, refertur*,
7. 3.
 Pervulgata sunt nomina
eorum, *publicè et vulgo
nota celebrataque*, 15. 2.
 Peucestes corporis custos
Aleqandri, 18. 7.
 Phalanx, 12. 1.
 Phalereus portus, 2. 6.
 Pharæ, 9. 1.
 Pharnabazus satrapes regi-
us, 6. 4.
 Philenius, *res Hannibalis
scripsit*, 23. 13.
 Philippense prælium, *quo
Augustus scil. Brutum
et Cassium devicit*, 25.
 11.
 Philippides cursor, 1. 4.
 Philippus *Alex. pater*, 11.
 3.
 Philistus Historicus Syra-
cusas perducitur, 10. 3.
 Philocles, 7. 8.
 Philocrates, 10. 9.
 Phocion, 19. 1.
 Phœbidas Lacedæm. 16. 1.
 Phœnices victi, 5. 2.
 Phryges, 14. 8.
 Phyle, *castellum Atticæ*, 8.
 2.
 Pietas, *de affectu in neces-
situdines*, 25. 17.
 Pila lapidea, *in quâ incisa
devotio Alcibiadis, mos
infamiæ conciscendæ u-
surpatus*, 7. 4.
 Piræei portus triplex, 2. 6.
 Pisander, 7. 5.
 Pisidæ, 14. 8.
 Pisistrati tyrannis, 1. 8.
 Pittacus, 8. 4.
 Placare aliquem, *reconci-
liare*, 4. 5.
 Plaga, *pro calamitate*, 18.
 5. plagæ, *vulnera*, 18. 4.
 Platææ, 4. 1. Platæense
prælium, *apud Platæas
commissum*, 3. 2.
 Plato Tarentum venit, 10.
 2.
 Plebiscitum, *quod plebs
sciscit, jubet*, 7. 5.
 Pœcile, *ποικίλη nomen por-
ticûs Atheniensis pictæ*,
1. 6.
 Pœni, *pro Carthagin.* 22. 2.
 Pœnus, *pro Hannibale*, 23.
 10.
 Polybius, *historicus*, 23. 13.
 Polymnus, 15. 1.
 Polyperchon Cassandrum
pellit, 19. 3.
 Pompeium qui, et cur se-
cuti, 25. 7.
 Ponderare, *considerare*, 8.
 1.
 Pondus, *scil. armaturæ*,
11. 1.
 Ponere, *positum in publi-
co monumentum*, 7. 4.
 tripodem ponere, *doni*

- causâ dedicare, est inter solemnia*, 4. 1.
- Ponere, *existimare*, 7. 3. poni in *viis*, *pro vitio habere*, 15. 1. ponere quid in *maledictis*, *scil. inter alia hoc usurpare*, 14. 6.
- Portæ *Ciliciæ*, *claustra*, *aditus*, 14. 7.
- Possidere, *occupatum scil.* 2. 6. *possessio Siciliæ*, *imperium quod ibi obtinetur*, 20. 2.
- Post hominum *memoriam*, *ultimam præteriti temporis memoriam hâc locutione significamus*, 3. 1. *post, posteriore parte*, 18. 5.
- Postulare *fidem, juramentum*, 23. 2. *postulata facere, de consilio dato*, 7. 8.
- Potens, *magnus in civitate, aliâs, qui multum potest*, 17. 1.
- Potentia *singularis, imperium unius*, 10. 9.
- Potestas, *imperium*, 9. 1. *potestatem sui facere, offerre se pugna*, 17. 3. *potestas ei facta manendi, facultas data*, 25. 11. *potestatem habere cuiusvis conditionis, de eo cujus matrimonium et affinitas ubique optata*, 25. 12.
- Præ illo omnes parvi futuri, *contentionem notat*, 18. 10.
- Præbet hæc res *suspicionem talis hominis, facit ut talis suspectetur*, 17. 8.
- Præcipere, *de responso oraculi*, 1. 1. *Premia virtutis et meritorum, statuæ*, 1. 6.
- Præoccupare alterum, *insidiis tollere*, 19. 4.
- Præs, *publicorum conductores (mancupes) prædes dabant*, 26. 6.
- Præsidium, *convoy*, 15. 4. *præsidia, milites præsidium agitant*, 1. 4. *præsidii in eo non satis, de eo qui hosti oppositus erat*, 13. 3.
- Præsidio esse civibus *suls, juvare*, 9. 2.
- Præstare alicui, *antecellere*, 12. 4.
- Præter cæteros, *supra seu præ cæt.* 3. 1.
- Prævidere, *excogitare, reperire consilium*, 23. 9.
- Premere adversarium, *capere vexare*, 14. 7. *premi ab hoste, cum in periculo et angustiis sumus*, 1. 3.
- Principem in bello ponere aliquem, *ejus operâ consilioque plurimum uti*, 23. 2.
- Probare auctorem hunc,

- huic potissimum credere*, 2. 10.
Procacitas hominis, audax petulantia in incessendo, 20. 5.
Procellæ civiles, bella, discordiæ, 25. 10.
Processerat jam nox, pro- vecta erat, 16. 3.
Procuratio reip. de rerum actu et administratione civili, 8. 3.
Proditionis accusatus, majestatis scil. crimine, 1. 7.
Progenies Herculis, stirps, 17. 1.
In Propatulo, in loco aperto, et in conspectum ex- posito, 23. 9.
Propinquitas, pro cognatione, 10. 1.
Propitia voluntas, benevo- lentia signif. 10. 9.
Prosequi, comitari, dedu- cere, 7. 7.
Πεσωνυϊν veneratio Persa- rum regibus delata hoc vocabulo exprimebatur, 9. 3.
Prosternere magnas opes, profligare ingentem hos- tium numerum, 1. 5.
Proximus ætate, qui proxime post illa tempora vix- erat, quibus hæc accide- runt, 2. 9.
Ptolemæus, ex Alex. ami- cis, postea Ægypti im- perio celebratus, 18. 10.
Pubes adjectivè, prius- quam puer pubes esset, 10. 4.
Publicare bona, confiscare, 7. 4.
Pugna Cannensis, 23. 5.
Pulchrè aliquid facere posse, de operâ promptâ ex- peditaque serv. 25. 13.
Pulvinar Paci factum, 13. 2. In pulvinum subji- cere, *sc. super quo ac- cumbebat*, 16. 3.
Punicum bellum I. 22. 1. II. 12. 4.
Pydna, urbs Maced. 2. 8.
Pylæmeens, 14. 2.

Q.

QUÆRERE ab aliquo, in- terrogare, 3. 1.
Quirinalis collis, 25. 13.

R.

RADICES montis, ima- montis, 1. 5.
Ratum, nihil fore ratum, quæ constituisset non mansura, de abrogatione, 7. 10.
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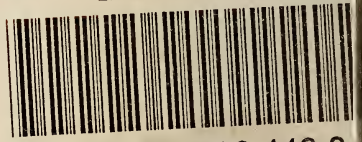
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